NINETY YEARS OF CHINESE SETTLEMENT

IN NEW ZEALAND, 1866 TO 1956.

Thesis presented for M.A. and Honours,

in Geography, University of Canterbury,

Christchurch, New Zealand, 1962.

David Ng.

C O N T E N T S

LIST OF MAPS AND GRAPHS

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese, apart from the Maoris who are the natives of this country, form by far the largest group of non-white people in New Zealand. At present, the Chinese, after the Dutch, form the second largest group of alien nationals, but the Chinese had been immigrating and settling in New Zealand for over ninety years, whereas the Dutch did not begin to arrive in large numbers until after World War II.

The Chinese people, therefore, have had a long history in this country. The first Chinese gold-miners began to arrive in Otago as early as 1866, only twenty-six years after New Zealand became a British Colony. From the gold-fields of Otago, Westland and Nelson, they have spread to all parts of the country. For a long time they were unwanted and treated as inferior human beings, numerous immigration legislations being passed to restrict their entry into the Dominion, and yet, by patience, tolerance and industry, they have prospered. Today, they form a harmonious part of the New Zealand community, and their occupations and industries play a significant part in the economy of the country.

This thesis traces some of the causes of the Chinese people leaving their homeland and travelling thousands of miles to seek their fortune in a foreign land, and some of the major features of their immigration, settlement, occupations

and industries, and their assimilation in New Zealand. The Chinese in New Zealand, of course, is only one of many overseas Chinese communities established in various parts of the world. It may also be considered as a study of the historical and social geography of a minority group of people and their development in a foreign land.

First and foremost, of course, it is an academic document, but it is also a tribute to a relatively small group of people who have won through after much silent suffering, and to the New Zealand Government and people who have so generously received them into their society and community.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

First and foremost, I must acknowledge my sincere thanks to Mr W. B. Johnston, Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University of Canterbury, who first inspired me to make this study.

Much gratitude is also owed to Mr R. E. Mustchin and the Population Branch of the Department of Statistics, Wellington, who so generously opened their files to me for inspection. It was well that the Census, from 1874 onward, distinguished the Chinese from the rest of the population in respect of most census subjects, including location, occupation, age and marital status, otherwise much of this thesis would not have been written.

Mr M. Standish of the National Archives, Mr P. Fairway of the Department of Internal Affairs, the Secretary of the New Zealand-Chinese Growers Association, the Secretary of the New Zealand Commercial Growers Federation, and the various Branch Secretaries of the New Zealand Fruit and Vegetable Retailers Federation, all offerred valuable information. My thanks must also be given to the Librarians at the University of Canterbury and all those who extended help, advice and hospitality to me during the course of my research.

CHAPTER I:

CHINESE OVERSEAS EMIGRATION

The coming of the Chinese to New Zealand, during the second half of the Nineteenth century, was only a small part of the streams of emigration which issued forth from the southern and south-eastern provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien of China (see Fig. I).

A Chinese writer, Ta Chen, has stated that, "throughout Chinese history there has been an outward movement of peoples from these coastal provinces. At times, this may have been little more than the continuous movement of trade of the coastal population with nearby countries. At other times, under the impact of internal pressures of overcrowdedness, poverty and famine, or when overseas countries were offering opportunities of employment, this movement took the form of a migration 'wave'. People in the coastal towns and villages ventured out to seek their fortunes overseas."[1]

Although in many instances, large scale commercial and labour opportunities and free immigration were closed by immigration legislations after only a relatively short period, many seized the opportunities offerred while they lasted, and established themselves in countries abroad. Writing in 1940, Ta Chen stated that "the combined numbers of those who have emigrated and their descendents is often

1. Ta Chen: Emigrant Communities in South China, New York, 1940, p.1.

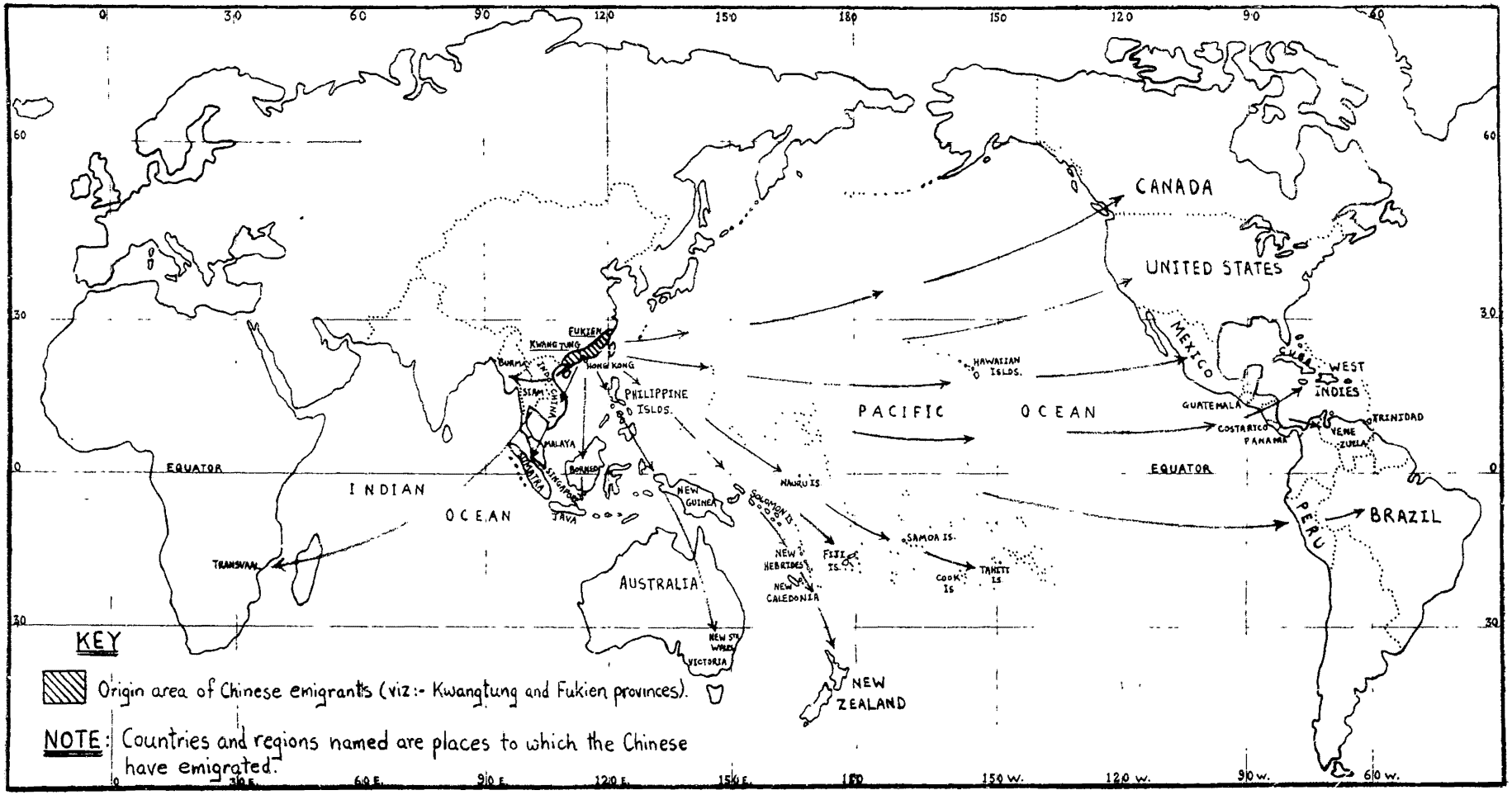


FIGURE I: CHINESE OVERSEAS EMIGRATION TO SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC COUNTRIES DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

estimated at eight million, but may well have reached ten million at present."[1]

The Chinese have long had trade relations with the countries of South-east Asia and the islands of Indonesia, sailing to these places in their wooden junks. Today, large numbers of Chinese communities and settlers could also be found widely spread over all parts of Oceania, North America, South America, Australia, New Zealand, and even in a number of countries in Europe (see Fig. I).

Although many Chinese had for centuries settled in many parts of South-east Asia and Indonesia, large scale emigration of Chinese to these areas did not take place until the latter part of the Nineteenth century and the early part of the Twentieth century, when the Europeans (the Dutch, the French, and especially the British) arrived to develop the commercial, agricultural and mineral resources of these countries. The easy going natives, as workers, were generally unwilling or unsuitable, and the Chinese coolie labourers, long noted for their skill, industry, docility, cheapness and abundance, were much sought after by employers. Tens of thousands of Chinese coolie labourers were recruited from the towns and villages of Kwangtung and Fukien, and others were encouraged to come independently to work in the tin-mines and rubber plantations of British Malaysia, and to work in the rice, sugar and rubber plantations of Indo-China, Thailand, Burma,

1. Ta Chen: op. cit., p.2.

and the islands of Java, Borneo and the Philippines.

With the development and expansion of trade and commerce in these countries, thousands of traders and businessmen, artisans and craftsmen, also arrived to supply provisions to the population, and to act as middlemen between the growers and suppliers and the buyers and exporters. In many of these countries a large proportion of the retail business is now in the hands of the Chinese, and much of the wholesale business is controlled by them also.

H. F. MacNair had stated that after the people of India, it is safe to say that the non-white people who contributed most to the prosperity of the British Empire are the Chinese.[1] "Alone, of all Europeans," said Professor F. Wells Williams of Yale University, "the English have not recoiled at comtemplating a reservoir of hundreds of millions of this persistent and procreating race. In establishing their strategic posts in Malaya, Borneo, Hong Kong, they needed workmen, tradesmen to supply provisions, compradores, and domestics to render living not only possible but even agreeable; if these were not forthcoming their stations were doomed to fail, for these were not localities for European labourers and settlers."[2]

In the second half of the Nineteenth century, prospective

1. H. F. MacNair: The Chinese in the British Empire and the New World, Shanghai, 1924, pp. 1-2.
2. Quoted in H. F. MacNair: ibid., pp. 1-2.

Chinese emigrants also turned their eyes to the opportunities offerred by the "new" countries within or bordering the Pacific Ocean. These countries, still in their pioneering stages, offerred opportunities for employment, and with the discovery of gold in North America, Australia and New Zealand, thousands rushed to these countries to try and get their share of the riches.

The first Chinese emigrants to the United States, who arrived in 1848, were not gold-miners, but thousands soon followed when gold was discovered in California in 1852. By 1860, almost 35,000 were in the country, most of whom were in the mines, while many others were engaged as servants, laundrymen and farmhands. Thousands were also employed on the construction of the Central Pacific and other railroads.[1] In Canada the gold-mining and the building of the Canadian Pacific railroad conjoined to start Chinese immigration into the country in the Eighteen-seventies.[2]

Some Chinese migrants drifted further south into Mexico and the West Indies, while others travelled to the South American countries of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela, Peru and Brazil. The number and, generally speaking, the position of the Chinese in that part of the Americas south of the United States, however, were not very significant. They were engaged in retailing, mining, gardening, laundry work, restaurant and hotel

1. H. F. MacNair: op.cit., pp. 21-22.
2. H. F. MacNair: ibid., p.17.

management, and importing and exporting.[1]

Chinese labourers were also recruited for the sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands; others were also contracted to work in the plantations of Western Samoa, and the phosphate mines of Nauru. Generally speaking, there is to-day a sprinkling of Chinese in most of the islands within the Pacific, for example, Fiji, New Caledonia, and Solomon Islands.

In Australia and New Zealand, it was also the discovery of gold in the Eighteen-fifties and sixties which led to large influxes of Chinese immigrants. At the end of 1859, it was estimated that there were at least 42,000 Chinese in Victoria, and in New South Wales in 1861 there were about 13,000.[2] In New Zealand they did not commence to arrive until 1866.

In the Transvaal gold-mines of South Africa, large numbers of Chinese labourers were contracted, between 1904-1910, for mining work. In this case nearly all of the labourers were repatriated at the end of their contract.[3]

Yet, China had long practised a policy of isolationism from the rest of the world. "She was a country unto herself, not desiring nationals to leave nor barbarians to enter."[4] During the Manchu Dynasty of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, emigration was actually forbidden by Imperial Edict.[5]

1. H. F. MacNair: op.cit., pp. 33-35
2. H. F. MacNair: op.cit., p. 12.
3. H. F. MacNair: ibid., p. 10.
4. M. J. McNeur: The Chinese in New Zealand, M.A. Thesis, Otago, 1930, p. 3.
5. M. J. McNeur: op.cit., p. 3.

At this stage, perhaps some of the reasons should be examined as to why the peoples of Kwangtung and Fukien travelled across the seas to foreign and often inhospitable lands to seek their livelihood when they were actually forbidden to do so by the law of the country.

[1]Certain geographical, especially physical, features of this region have served in the past and still serve, as driving forces to push some of the inhabitants out of their homes to seek their livelihood abroad. Moreover, partly under the direct influence of this physical environment, and partly because of their ways of life, the people of this region possess certain cultural traits which predispose them for foreign adventure.

Kwangtung and Fukien are hilly and mountainous regions, and are isolated from the rest of China, being separated from the hinterland by an almost continuous mountain range which traverses the provinces in a generally eastern and north-eastern direction. This range obstructs land communications between the two maritime areas and the Yangtse Valley to the north.

Since this region is coastal and mountainous there are few navigable rivers which serve more than a small sector of the region, but the coast is everywhere close at hand and, quite naturally, the people tend to look seawards rather than inland. Furthermore, the inhabitants, through overcrowdedness and the

1. The following sections on Chinese emigration from Southern China are based primarily on: Ta Chen: op. cit., pp. 17-260.

lack of flat land, were early driven to seek or supplement their livelihood in other ways than by farming. Fishing and coastwise trading activities have given these people skill in navigation and a seafaring spirit.

Yet this region possesses rich soils, a favourable sub-tropical monsoon climate, plentiful off-coast fishing, and opportunities for trade and commerce with neighbouring countries, but its very richness has historically been the cause of a large infiltration of peoples from further inland and has, from time to time, produced a dangerous over-population. This coupled with high natural reproduction have caused over-crowdedness and pressure upon available resources, pushing many out into the Nan Yang (South Seas) to seek their fortune.

Because of their geographical proximity to the Western colonial countries of South-east Asia, Kwangtung and Fukien were the first areas to have contacts with the West. China's isolationism was shattered by the Opium War (1839-42), after which Western countries forced her, by treaty, to open a number of ports for trading. Of the earliest ports opened to Western trade, Kwangtung claims Canton (opened in 1842) and Swatow (1858), while Fukien claims Foochow and Amoy, both opened in 1842 (see Fig. II). These two areas were, therefore, the most convenient and easiest places for the recruitment of coolie labour for work in foreign lands.

Losses of property and famine caused by natural calamities of flood, drought and typhoon, family quarrels and family disturbances, desire for gain in itself and for enlargement of busi-

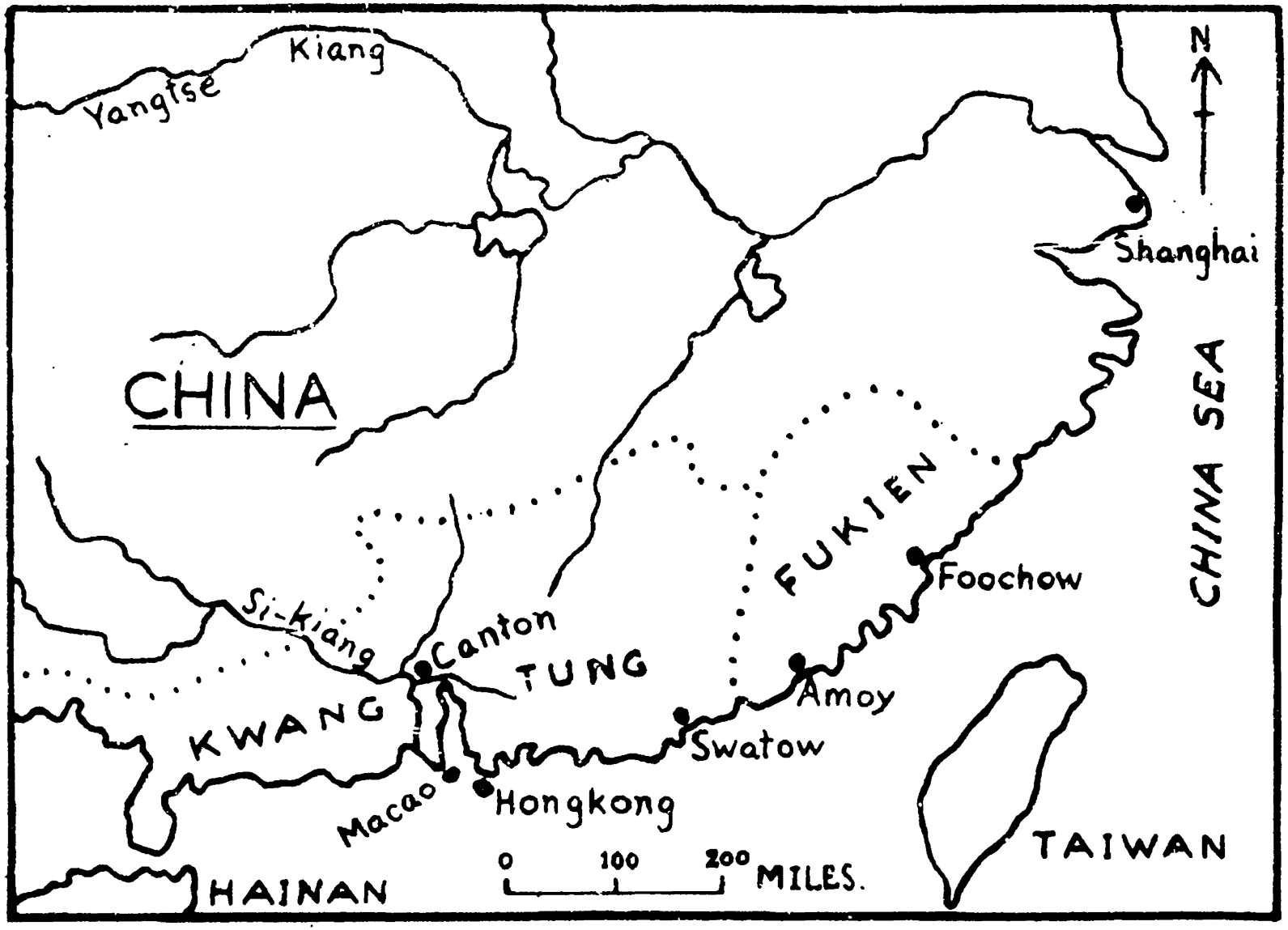


FIGURE II : KWANGTUNG and FUKIEN provinces.

ness experience, for education and adventure, have all played their parts in causing the Chinese to travel to distant lands. Insufficiency of the family's property and income or the large size of the family in relation to its economic resources often made for a decision to have one of its members to go abroad. South China has also long been in the habit, not only of trading with the Nan Yang, but also of sending some sons to those countries, partly to lessen pressure on resources at home, and partly to give a firm basis to foreign trade relations by the settlement of nationals abroad.

The reasons and conditions for emigration have been cumulatively effective through history. The processes were quickened and extended by the demand for coolie labourers in overseas countries, and in the New World countries by the powerful lure of gold. Finally, the experience of emigration itself, and the channels which it creates, must also be considered as one of the most potent influences on the continuation of that outward movement of population. Emigrants, when established abroad, would often send for a brother or relative and, later on, perhaps even his family to join him.

Kwangtung and Fukien because of their over-crowdedness and insufficient resources lean heavily on overseas remittances for support. More people died in these two provinces through poverty and famine during World War II, when remittances from overseas were cut off, than probably any other region in China. This emphasises the importance of emigration and its continuation for the welfare of the people of these two provinces.

Most of the Chinese emigrants belong to the coolie labourer and small peasant classes, quite a number are from the business and retailer class, but very, very few are of the educated class as they have no need to seek their living in foreign lands.

Many who emigrate do so because of economic pressure at home, while others do so to improve their economic status. In the words of F. Fyfe, "Chinese emigrants are not colonisers in the ordinary sense. Neither patriotism, nor the thirst for adventure, nor the desire for overseas markets, nor the annexation of land for settlement, motivated their emigration. It is purely a haphazard exodus varying from year to year with reports of economic opportunities in the Pacific countries, and with the intensity of local famine."[1]

The most valuable possession of most of the Chinese emigrants was their ability for hard work and contentment to live frugally, and perhaps a keen sense of business acumen.

Many of the overseas Chinese, and also many of those who have chosen to remain in a foreign land after the expiration of their labour contract, were engaged in some sort of wholesale or retail business. They were sojourners rather than colonisers, and their main hopes and desires were to make as much money, and as quickly as possible, and then to return to China to live in comfort and so to ascend the social ladder. To that end, commerce

1. F. Fyfe: Chinese Immigration to New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century, M.A. Thesis, Victoria, 1948, p.1.

is probably the quickest and easiest way of making money.

In the early stages of emigration to any country, there is always a predominance of young males, and an almost complete lack of females. The Chinese, wherever they may be, are always conscious of their kinship, culture and civilisation, and their main wish is to return to their homeland as soon as possible. Hence, the reluctance of the Chinese to take their female counterparts with them to foreign and often hostile lands. Usually, it is not until they have been in a country for many years and their economic status and business establishments have improved considerably that they would ever think of sending for their wives and families to join them.

Passage money for travelling overseas, before the period of active recruitment of coolie labourers by Western colonial enterprises, must have been paid independently, or with money advanced by relatives or friends, who may already be resident in an overseas country.

With the commencement of active recruitment of coolie labourers there arose the credit-ticket and contract systems of emigration. Under these systems of emigration, passage money was advanced by employers or coolie brokers, who were later repaid by the migrant in money, probably with good interest, or by services rendered for a certain length of time.[1]

"Contracts entered into between coolie and broker or employer,"

1. P. C. Campbell: Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries Within the British Empire, London, 1923, p.2.

writes F. Fyfe, "were more in the nature of a gentlemen's agreement than a bond between slave and master."[1] There were no visible contracts on paper, yet seldom were there any attempts to evade or breach the verbal agreement by the coolie. Nor does the employer hesitate to advance the costs, for he knew that the coolie, newly arrived, friendless and unable to speak the language of his overseas country, was dependent upon him for livelihood as well as work. The whole arrangement after all was for their mutual benefit.

During and after the second half of the Nineteenth century, tens of thousands, even millions, of Chinese emigrated to South-east Asia, and even to the New World, by the credit-ticket and contract systems. With the cessation of the wholesale recruitment and emigration of Chinese labourers by legislation in the late Nineteenth century in the New World countries, and in the early Twentieth century in Asian countries, emigration nevertheless continued, passages usually being arranged and fares advanced by brothers, relatives or friends, already resident in an overseas country. Chinese emigration today is carried on by this means.

In Asiatic lands the Chinese immigrant and settler had acted as an assistant or co-labourer of the whiteman, without him the whiteman could scarcely have existed and prosperity would have almost been impossible. The New World countries of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, into which the Chinese

1. F. Fyfe: op. cit., p. 7.

began to press about the middle of the Nineteenth century, on the other hand, took a radically different view of the Chinese from those of South-east Asia and Indonesian countries.

"In the New World," stated H. F. MacNair, "whether rightly or wrongly, the Chinese had been viewed as a rival and a competitor, even a potential supplanter. Feared and therefore hated, for years without the protection or mere sympathy of his home government, often not having even the support of numbers to comfort his misery, he was faced in the new countries by rough and turbulent adventurers, many of them aliens like himself, who derided him as a pagan and accordingly uncivilised, declared him the lowest of human beings - - - -."[1]

The traits which were praised (the industry, docility, cheapness and abundance) by the British administrators in Malaysia were deemed vices by other British administrators and leaders in other parts of the Empire.

In the United States, at first, there was no lack of employment, and the Chinese were even encouraged to immigrate, so long as they were willing to do work that the Americans, and the European immigrants, were either too few or unwilling to do. But, even in this country, anti-Chinese agitation soon began, first in the mining camps and shortly spread throughout the western states. Government restrictions were immediately applied to limit the free entry of the Chinese.[2]

1. H. F. MacNair: op. cit., pp. 11-12.
2. H. F. MacNair: op. cit., p. 22.

Economic competition was at the root of the difficulty, for with the completion of the transcontinental railroads European immigrants began to arrive in large numbers in California. The prosperity of the Chinese, their remarkable thrift, their low standard of living and almost absolute lack of either desire or ability to amalgamate, caused jealousy and persecution, and there was no powerful and interested government behind them to see that justice was rendered.[1]

In Australia prejudice against the Chinese on the gold-fields began to develop as early as 1860. Agitation and disturbances against the presence of the Chinese were soon to follow. Occasionally they were even driven from the gold-fields. As a consequence, a series of Chinese Immigration Restriction Acts were passed by the various states of Australia. For example, the Parliament of New South Wales, in 1881, passed an Act limiting the number of Chinese to be carried by any one vessel to one for every one hundred tons of the ship's tonnage, and imposed a poll-tax of £10 pounds on every Chinese entering the country; similar Acts of Parliament, varying in severity, were also passed by Queensland, Victoria and other states of Australia.[2] From 1877 to 1901, the policy adopted by Australia toward Asiatic immigration was one of restriction, but from 1901 onwards that policy gave way to one of exclusion, which was to become known as the "White Australian Policy;" and that rightly or wrongly, the Australian people still believe necessary

1. H. F. MacNair: op. cit., p. 22.
2. H. F. MacNair: op. cit., pp. 12-13.

for the security of their social life.[1]

New Zealand and Canada, about the same time, also took similar views toward Chinese immigration as Australia, and they passed series of immigration restriction Acts aiming at the control of the entry of the Chinese by the use of the same tonnage and poll-tax systems.

In spite of the immigration restriction measures adopted by various countries after a longer or shorter period of free immigration, the passages of emigration were open long enough to draw millions of Chinese workers from their homelands, many of them to settle permanently, and even to form distinct Chinese communities, in the countries that sought them.

1. P. C. Campbell: op. cit., pp. 76-77.

CHAPTER II:

CHINESE IMMIGRATION IN NEW ZEALAND.

Large scale Chinese immigration in New Zealand did not begin until 1866, some five years after the first important discovery of gold in Otago, when two streams of Chinese gold-miners came toward that province. The first "rush" was from the gold-fields of Australia, and the second from China itself; at first the former was larger, but soon the latter[1] (see Fig. III).

F. Fyfe noted that capitalist enterprise lay behind the first introduction of Chinese miners to the gold-fields of Otago. By 1864-65, the gold "rush" era had ended, and the fields were settling down to a regular industry.[2] Many European miners had returned to the gold-fields of Victoria and New South Wales, while many others proceeded to the newer strikes on the West Coast of New Zealand. At the end of 1863, there were 10,000 European miners in Otago, but in 1865 the number had fallen to 6,000.[3]

Businessmen and merchants in Otago were concerned and even alarmed by the exodus of European miners. The Dunedin Chamber of Commerce sought the introduction of Chinese gold-miners to replace those Europeans who had left. The Chinese

1. Presbyterian Church of New Zealand: Missions to the Chinese, Dunedin, 1907, p. 2.
2. F. Fyfe: op. cit., p. 13.
3. Presbyterian Church of New Zealand: op. cit., p. 2.

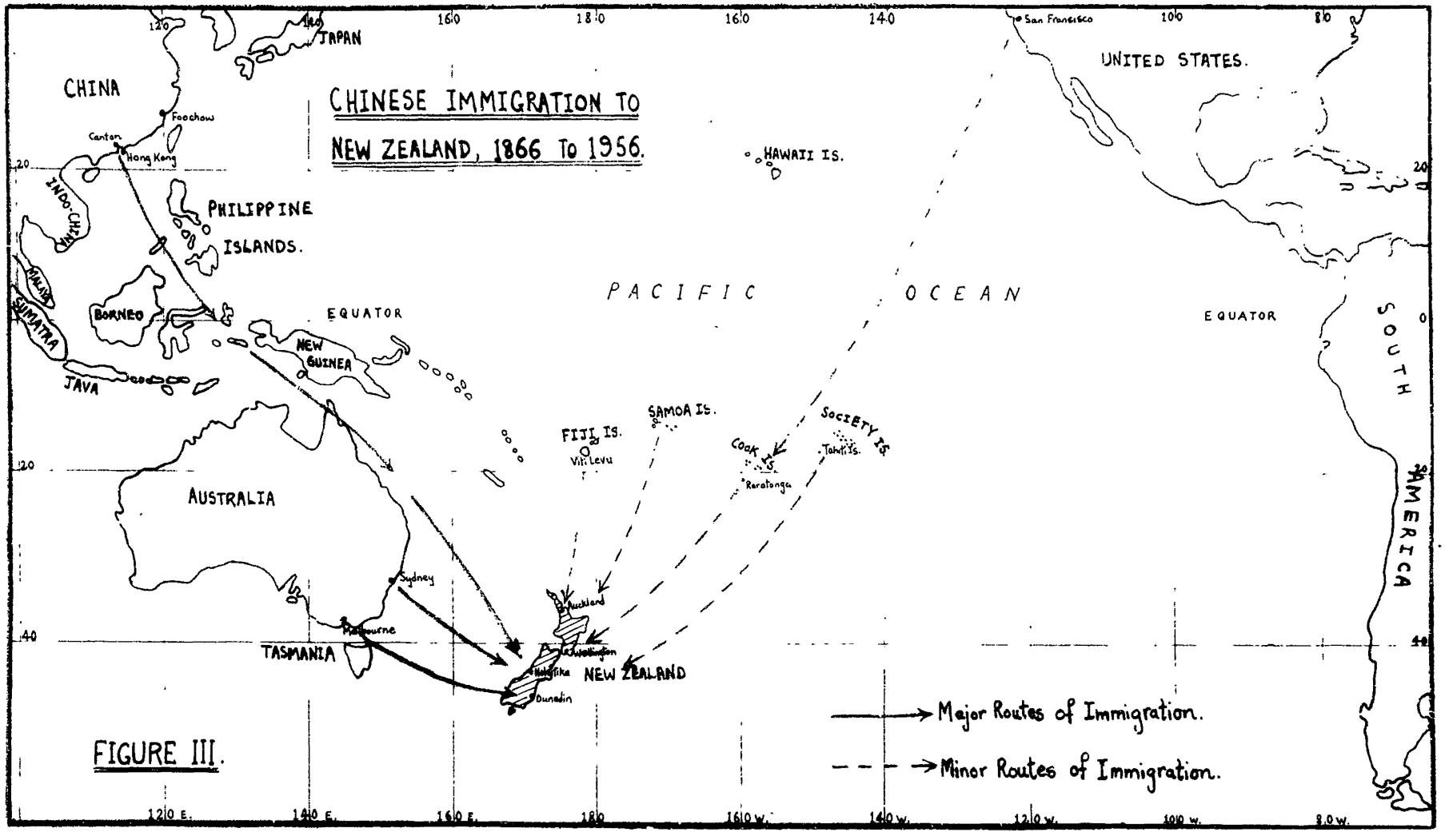

CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO
NEW ZEALAND, 1866 To 1956.
CHINA
JAPAN
Foochow
Canton
Hong Kong
INDO-CHINA
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS.
BORNEO
SUMATRA
JAVA
EQUATOR
NEW
GUINEA
AUSTRALIA
TASMANIA
Sydney
Melbourne
Auckland
Wellington
Napier
Dunedin
NEW ZEALAND
FIJI Is.
Viti Levu
SAMOA Is.
COOK Is.
Rarotonga
SOCIETY Is.
Tahiti Is.
HAWAII IS.
San Francisco
UNITED STATES.
PACIFIC
OCEAN
EQUATOR
SOUTH
AMERICA
Major Routes of Immigration.
Minor Routes of Immigration.
120 E.
140 E.
160 E.
180
160 W.
140 W.
120 W.
100 W.
80 W.
20
40
0

FIGURE III.

they stated were well-behaved, produced gold and were large consumers of foodstuff and store goods. The Otago Provincial Council also favoured the entry of Chinese miners into the province, and so negotiations were commenced for the introduction of Chinese from the Victorian gold-fields, despite protests from some of the European miners. But the prosperity of the province was at stake, and the protests were over-ridden. Twelve Chinese miners arrived in Dunedin during the first week in February of 1866, and later proceeded to the gold-fields.[1]

By the end of 1867, over 1,200 Chinese were in Otago, and for the next fourteen years the stream of immigration continued and even increased. A. Don stated: "In 1871, they came by the shipload: March (354), July (316), August (348), September (253), October (205), making a total of 1,596 for the year. These came direct from China, whither had spread the fame of the "New Gold Hills" in the far South."[2] The total Chinese population in New Zealand in 1871 was 2,641, nearly everyone of whom was working in the gold-fields of Otago.[3] They formed less than 1·75 per cent of New Zealand's total, but represented about 6 per cent of Otago's community.[4]

Although Chinese immigration was, at the beginning, favoured by the administrative and commercial members of the Otago Community, and there were no violent demonstrations against the

1. F. Fyfe: op. cit., pp. 14-20.
2. A. Don: Nineteenth Inland Otago Tour, 1905-1906, Dunedin, p. 1.
3. N.Z. Population Census, 1871, Table No. 11.
4. P. C. Campbell: op. cit., p. 79.

arrival of Chinese miners in the first two or three years, the large influx of Chinese into the Colony, in 1871 caused a storm of protests, which later grew into strong anti-Chinese agitation, from the European mining community. Petitions signed by Otago gold-miners, urging the necessity of placing an effective ban to further influxes of Chinese, were sent to the Government, and an Otago Member of Parliament, speaking for the European miners, also asked that restrictions be imposed. By this stage, protests and agitation had reached such an extent and intensity that the Government was forced to give attention to the subject.

On August 29th, 1871, the Government appointed a "Chinese Immigration Committee" to investigate the "Chinese question." Chief Officers of Police in different provinces, Wardens of gold-fields, and various members of the medical profession, and others were asked to send in reports on the Chinese in the Colony.[1]

The final report of the Immigration Committee, presented in October, 1871, stated: "In view of the foregoing, the Committee are of the opinion that there have been no sufficient grounds shown for the exclusion of the Chinese; and that no sufficient case has up to the present time been made out to

1. A.J.H.R., 1871, H. 5.

require the Committee to propose that legislative action should be taken having for the effect the exclusion of the Chinese or the imposition of special burdens upon them."[1]

Accepting the favourable reports of the Immigration Committee, the Government took no further action against Chinese immigration into New Zealand. Chinese gold-miner immigrants, therefore, continued to come in fairly large numbers into the country, as yet unrestricted by any immigration legislation.

By 1874, the gold-fields of the West Coast and Nelson had also attracted many, the end of that year seeing 1,219 in Westland and Nelson, whilst the number in Otago had increased to 3,563. There were a few individuals in other parts of New Zealand as well, bringing the total in the Colony to 4,816.[2]

Protests and agitation against Chinese immigration, however, continued, and Anti-Chinese Parties and white New Zealand Leagues were formed in various parts of the country. In 1878, the total number of Chinese had dropped to 4,433, due to a large number of departures in that year (see Fig. V and Fig. VII), but the attack was renewed by a Member of Parliament representing West Coast gold-fields. A Bill to restrict Chinese immigration was demanded, but the Government would not accede

1. Ibid, 1871, H. 5.
2. N.Z. Population Census, 1874, Part I, p. 18.

to the request, for as yet it had no power in such matters without consulting the Home Authorities in London, and no further action was taken.[1]

The Chinese must have caught the wind that New Zealand might soon impose immigration restrictions, for there was a rush of new immigrants to come, and former immigrants to return, to New Zealand. The number of arrivals soared, from under two hundred in the previous year, to over one thousand in 1878, but as the scare passed, the number of arrivals dropped (see Fig. IV).

T. D. H. Hall noted the debate on the subject revealed a cleavage of opinion in Parliament. Mining representatives abused the Chinese for their low morals, their segregated way of life and low standard of living, and emphasised their danger to the country. Those virtues of the Chinese (their industry and willingness to work long hours at low wages) so highly praised by European employers in South-east Asia were condemned in New Zealand as being detrimental to the general standard of living. Representatives of the landed, mercantile and professional interests, on the other hand, defended the Chinese from the violent charges made against them, and even praised the Chinese for their industry, thrift, and ancient culture and civilisation.[2]

1. T. D. H. Hall: 'New Zealand and Asiatic Immigration', in New Zealand Affairs, Vol. 1, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929, p. 83.
". T. D. H. Hall: op. cit., p. 83.

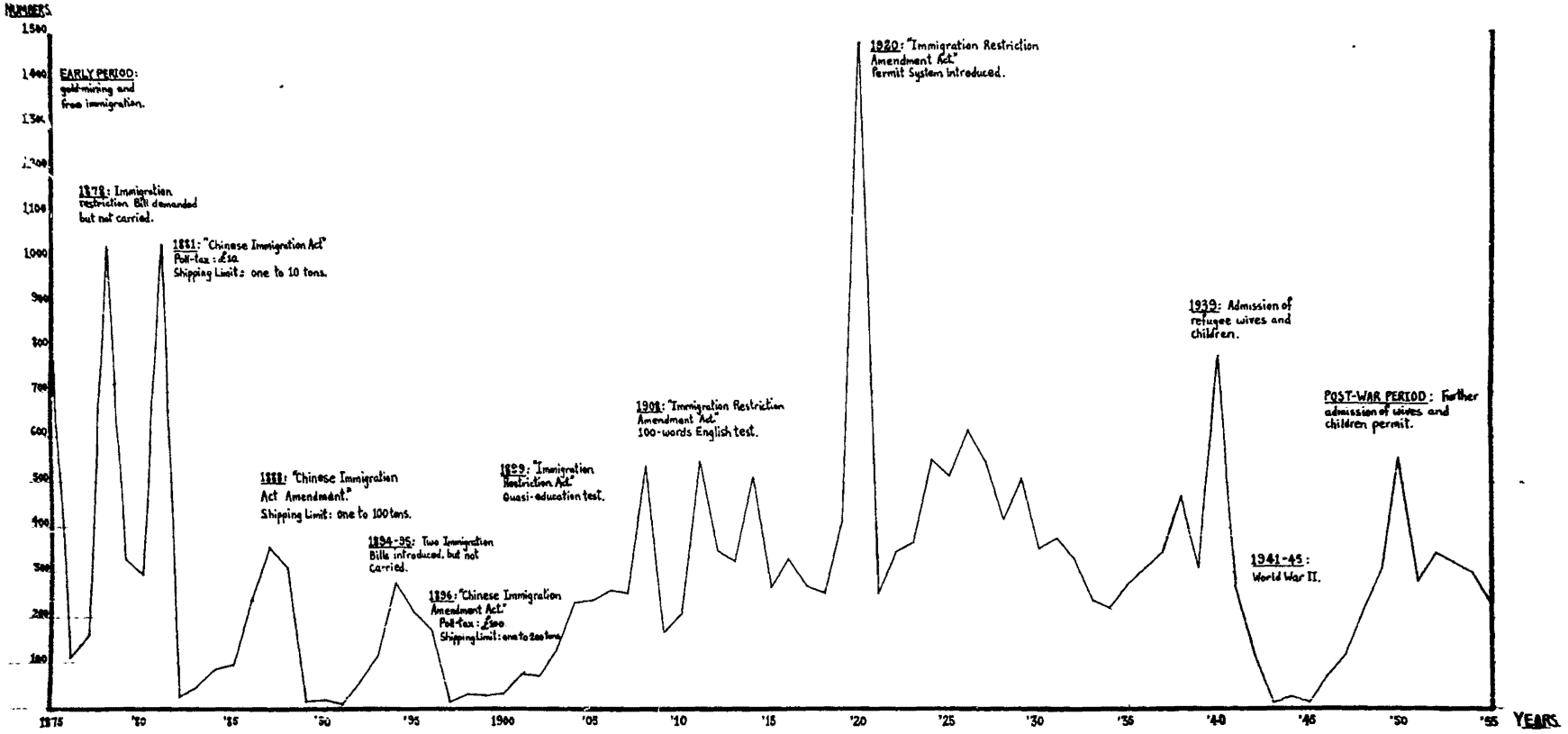


FIGURE IV: ARRIVALS OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN NEW ZEALAND, 1875 TO 1955.

(Statistics from "Statistics of New Zealand")

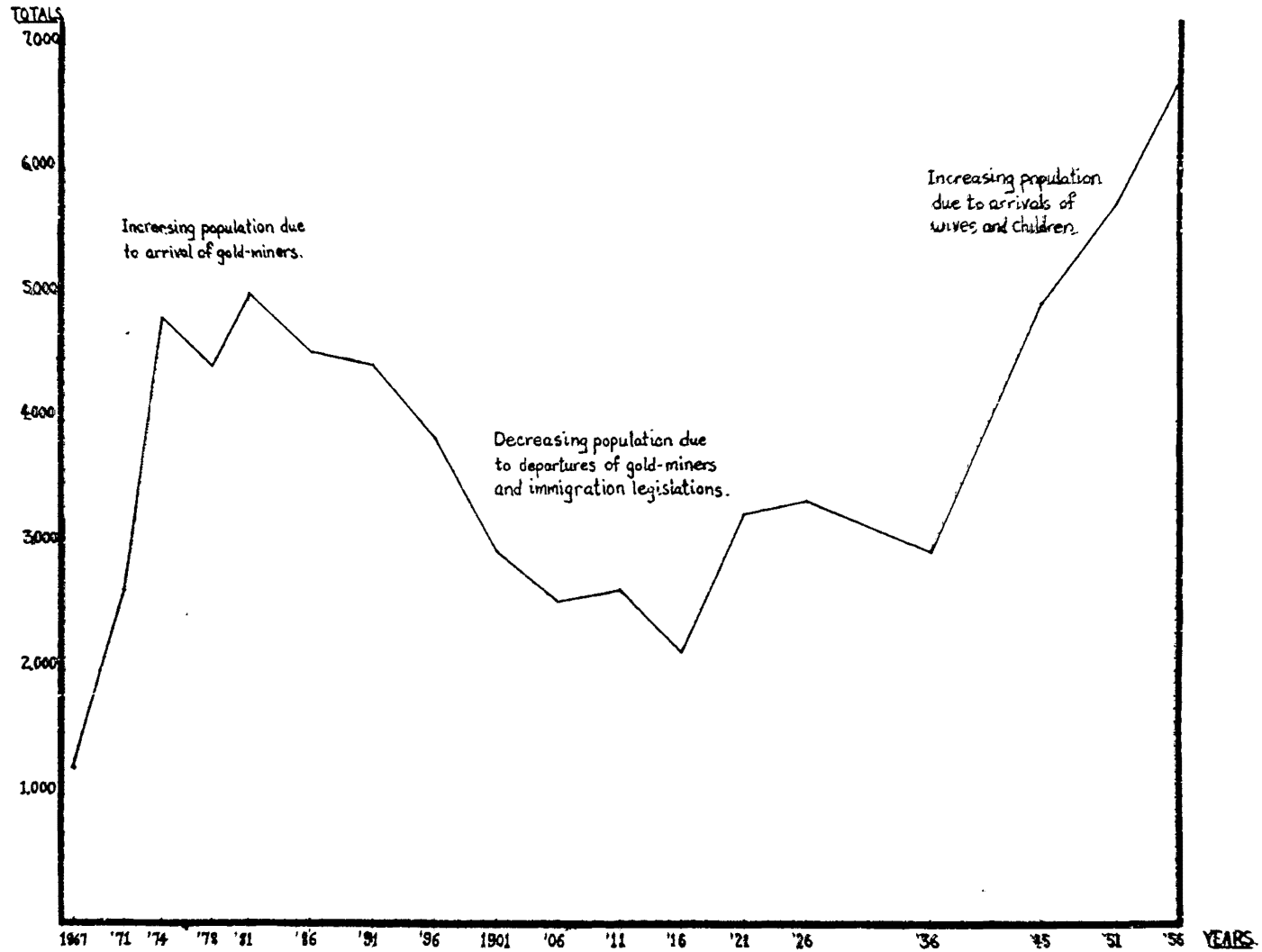


FIGURE V: TOTALS OF CHINESE IN NEW ZEALAND, 1867 TO 1956.

(Statistics from "New Zealand Census")

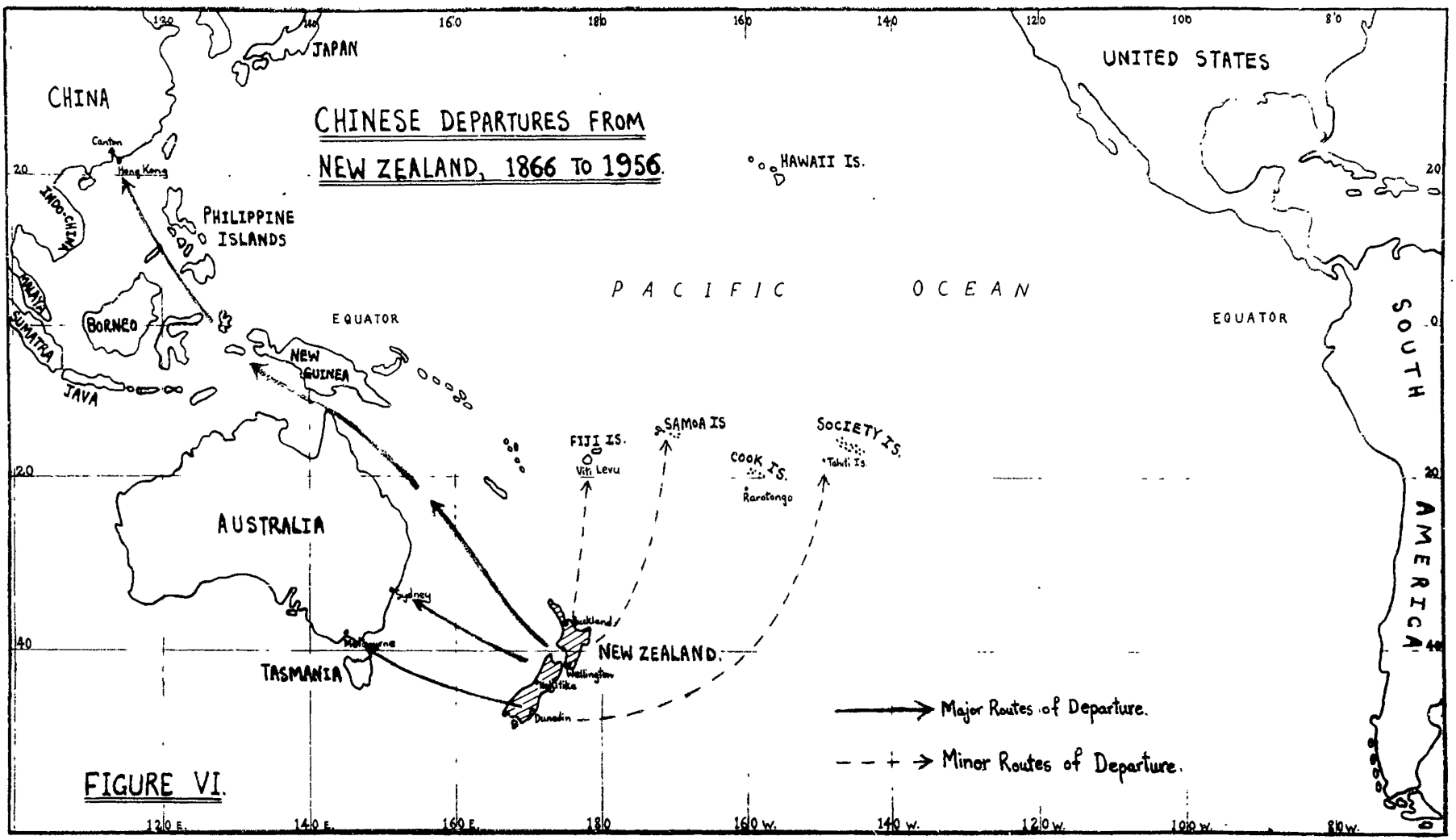

CHINESE DEPARTURES FROM
NEW ZEALAND, 1866 TO 1956.
JAPAN
CHINA
UNITED STATES
HAWAII Is.
Canton
Hong Kong
INDO-CHINA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
PACIFIC OCEAN
EQUATOR
EQUATOR
BORNEO
SUMATRA
JAVA
NEW GUINEA
FIJI IS.
Viti Levu
SAMOA IS
COOK IS.
Rarotonga
SOCIETY IS.
Tahiti Is.
AUSTRALIA
Sydney
Melbourne
TASMANIA
Auckland
Wellington
NEW ZEALAND.
Dunedin
SOUTH AMERICA
Major Routes of Departure.
Minor Routes of Departure.
120 E.
140 E.
160 E.
180
160 W.
140 W.
120 W.
100 W.
80 W.
20
40

FIGURE VI.

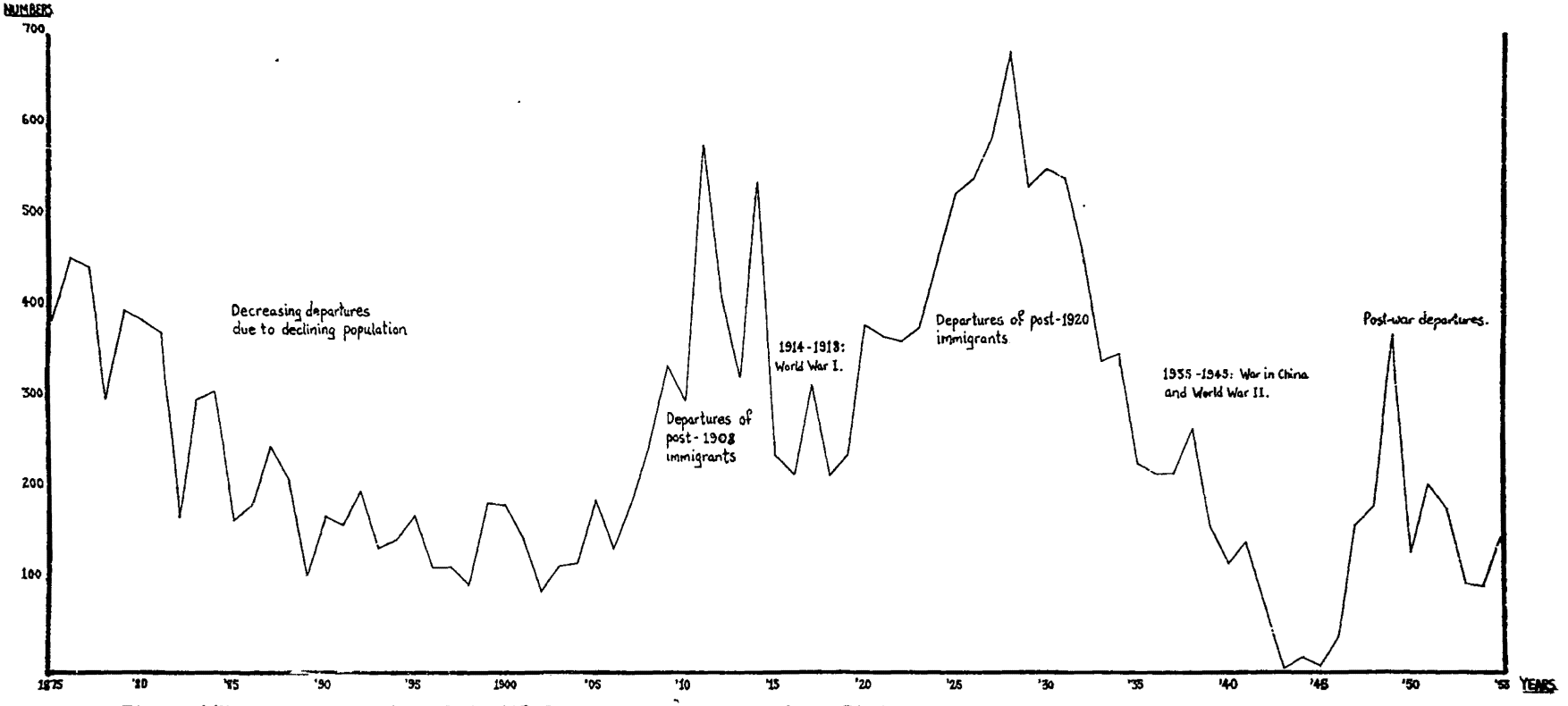


FIGURE VII: DEPARTURES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS FROM NEW ZEALAND, 1875 TO 1955.
(Statistics from "Statistics of New Zealand")

The Government, in 1879, urged on by further anti- Chinese agitation, and probably influenced by similar incidences in Australia and North America, introduced a "Chinese Immigration Bill", which sought for the imposition of a poll-tax of £10 pounds per head and a limitation of one Chinese to every ten tons of a ship's tonnage. The Bill was read, but not proceeded with.[1] The next year, a "Chinese Immigration Prohibition Bill" was introduced into Parliament, but was dropped after having passed the Second Reading and carried into the Committee.[2]

New Zealand adopted her first immigration legislation when the Hall ministry introduced the "Chinese Immigrants Act" in 1881. The Bill stated that no vessel should carry more than one Chinese passenger per every ten tons of its tonnage and that, before permitted to land, the Master of the ship must pay a £10 pounds poll-tax for every Chinese on board. It was passed after protests from both houses.[3]

Members speaking for the Bill accused the Chinese of introducing vices and diseases, that they were not permanent settlers and did not bring their wives with them, that they take wealth out of the country and would lower the wages of the working class. They emphasised the need to protect the wage earning class from competition from foreigners who have a much lower standard of living, and the need to safeguard the

1. M. J. McNeur: op. cit., p. 98.
2. F. Fyfe: op. cit., p. 55
3. N.Z. Statutes, 1881, pp. 301-303.

race purity of the country.[1]

Members speaking against the Bill stated that the Chinese in New Zealand were actually decreasing in number, and that they were as great an intellectual attainment as, and of vastly greater antiquity in civilisation than, the great bulk of their own people. They pointed out that the Imperial Government and China had signed a treaty which called for the fair treatment of each others subjects whilst they were residing in one anothers lands, and that exclusion was not in accordance with the history of the British nation, for "in the Old Country we have held out open arms to everyone as a place of refuge." They said that the agitation came chiefly from the gold-miners and the working class, and the prejudices were fostered by the lowest class of newspapers. They further contended that the Select Committee in 1871 did not consider restrictive legislation necessary, and that the Bill was a piece of panic legislation.[2]

Again, the Chinese must have heard of the forthcoming immigration restrictions, for, in 1881, there was another large "wave" of Chinese immigration (see Fig. IV). After the restrictions came into force there was a sharp drop in the number of arrivals, but the decline did not last for long. This shows that the restrictions imposed caused only a temporary

1. N.Z. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 38, 1881, p. 68.
2. N.Z. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 38, 1881, pp. 69, 123, 209-10.

drop in Chinese immigration. They were an inconvenience rather than a barrier.

Although the total number of Chinese in New Zealand was actually decreasing with each passing year (see Fig. V), and in spite of the passage of the Immigration Bill, opposition to the Chinese continued and even gathered strength.

This was partly due to the drift of a small number of Chinese gold-miners to the towns and cities to take up employment as market-gardeners, shop-keepers, and other types of occupation, which caused the city workers much concern for fear of competition from "cheap" Chinese labour. Moreover, New Zealand during the Eighteen-eighties was going through its first serious economic depression, and many Europeans were unemployed. Trade unions, newspapers, as well as the gold-miners protested that it was wrong to import Chinese when many of the Europeans were without work.

Under continued pressure the Government must have considered further restrictive measures necessary, for in 1888, it passed the "Chinese Immigrants Act Amendment," which limited the number of Chinese to be carried by any ship to one to every one hundred tons of shipping.[1] This again put a stop to Chinese immigration for a short while but, as before, once the Chinese and the shipping companies became accustomed to the new regulations, the number of arrivals slowly rose again (see Fig. IV).

1. N.Z. Statutes, 1888, pp. 123-24.

Two other Immigration Bills, seeking more stringent restrictions, were introduced into Parliament in 1894 and 1895 respectively, but were not carried. Fearful of what might happen, a number of Chinese residents in Wellington, in 1895, petitioned the Legislative Council, praying that no further prohibitive legislation be passed.[1]

The next year, Prime Minister Richard J. Seddon introduced the "Asiatic Restriction Act," which classified all Asiatics as undesirable immigrants. The Bill passed the House but was rejected by the Council. A second Bill, which exempted British Indians and people of the Jewish race, was introduced and passed in the same year, and was reserved for Royal assent. Meanwhile, the Government considered it necessary to amend the Chinese Immigrants Act of 1888, by increasing the restrictions to one Chinese to every two hundred tons of shipping and raising the poll-tax to £100 pounds.[2] This Amendment Act was carried, but was "to remain in force only until the Asiatic Restriction Act of 1896, which has been reserved for Her Majesty's assent, and has a wider scope, came into operation."[3]

These stringent restrictions again caused an immediate sharp drop in the number of Chinese arrivals for the next year, but the effects again proved only temporary. The flow of Chinese immigrants soon resumed (see Fig. IV).

The "Asiatic Immigration Bill" of 1896 failed to secure

1. T. D. Hall: op. cit., p. 85.
2. P. C. Campbell, op. cit., p. 82.
3. N.Z. Year Book, 1897, p. 98.

Imperial assent, but, in 1899, yet another "Immigration Restriction Bill" was introduced and passed by Parliament. This Bill classified the insane, criminal, and diseased as prohibitive immigrants, and any immigrant not of British parentage was required to write out and sign an application entry form in a European language. The Chinese, however, in addition to making such an application, still remained subject to the poll-tax and shipping tonnage restrictions.[1]

In spite of the declining numbers of Chinese in New Zealand and that the number of arrivals, though increasing slowly, was still comparatively small, the Chinese question was still being raised in Parliament, and the Government still sought to pass further immigration restrictions. As well as the poll-tax and shipping restrictions, the "Immigration Restriction Act" of 1908 required all Chinese immigrants to pass an education test of one hundred words of the English language, the passage to be selected by a Customs officer, before admission to the Dominion.[2]

It can be seen from Figure IV that the number of Chinese arrivals during 1908 was greater than usual for some years, the object, no doubt, was to escape the education test which came into operation towards the end of that year. For two years this test was the chief factor in a reduction in the number of Chinese immigrants, but even this barrier was soon overcome, for prospective immigrants made themselves sufficiently proficient in English to pass the education test before coming to New Zealand. The third and

1. P. C. Campbell: op. cit., p. 82.
2. F. Fyfe: op. cit., p. 99.

succeeding years again showed an increase in the number of arrivals (see Fig. IV).

No further restrictive measures were passed until 1920. On the other hand, there had been no great influxes of immigration; the number of Chinese in the Dominion, due to prohibitive immigration legislation, had dropped to under 3,000 for some years. The Government's attention, between 1914 and 1918, was probably diverted by the more important issue of World War I.

After the war, however, anti-Chinese agitation revived. Returned servicemen, many of them unable to find employment, "moved their local Members of Parliament to ascertain the number of Chinese who had entered New Zealand within recent months and to introduce further legislation against them."[1] In view of the possibility of further tightening of immigration legislations there was a huge influx of Chinese arrivals in 1920 (see Fig. Iv), in spite of the fact that every new immigrant was required to pay a £100 pounds poll-tax before admission to the country.

Accordingly the Government introduced and passed the "Immigration Restriction Amendment Act" in that same year. The Amendment repealed the quasi-education test introduced in 1899, but every immigrant, not of British parentage, was now required to obtain a permit from the Minister of Customs before entering New Zealand.[2] With respect to the Chinese, the 100 - word

1. M. J. McNeur: op. cit., p. 113.
2. N.Z. Statutes; 1920, p. 78.

reading test was abolished, but the poll-tax remained.[1]

The "permit system" was the most effective restrictive measure yet passed, for the Government was now able to choose, control and regulate the type and number of immigrants each year. No explanation had to be given by the Customs Department in the refusal of any permit. Its effectiveness is clearly illustrated in Figure IV, where the great increase in immigration in 1920 was replaced by an equally sharp decline in 1921, and there has been no really great influxes in any year since. Money could always be found to pay the poll-tax, but the permit system was an insurmountable barrier.

After 1920, only a few permits for permanent residence in New Zealand, with the exception of wives and families of naturalized and New Zealand-born Chinese, were issued; and increasing public pressure forced the Government, in 1926, to refuse admission to any further new Chinese immigrants altogether.[2] Subsequent to that year only temporary permits, to students, businessmen and visitors, of six months to two years with the possibility of extension, were granted.[3]

During the depression years between 1930 and 1935 very few Chinese immigrants were admitted to New Zealand. Most of the arrivals shown in Figure IV were for the return of former immigrants only.

1. T. D. Hall: op. cit., p. 88.
2. F. A. Ponton: Immigration Restriction in N.Z., M.A. Thesis, Victoria, 1946, p. 68.
3. P. Mathews: New Zealand's Chinese Minority, Auckland, 1944, p. 2.

The New Zealand Immigration Department, in a pamphlet issued on Chinese immigration, stated: "From 1935 on Japanese activity near the Canton province, from where most of the Chinese in New Zealand came, resulted in an increase in the number of applications from such men for permission for their wives and families to enter New Zealand. Most of these applications were for the temporary admission of such relatives only. It is hard to say whether the applicants felt that temporary permits were more likely to be granted or whether they only wish to bring their families to safety until the war in China ended."[1]

In 1936, moreover, New Zealand had a change of Government. The new Labour Government, with Peter Fraser as Prime Minister, was much more sympathetic toward the Chinese than any previous government in New Zealand. At this time also anti-Chinese agitation had abated, for "there was a noticeable change in public opinion and, instead of anti-immigration leagues, we find societies springing up championing increased population," said F. A. Ponton.[2]

Eventually, 249 wives and 244 children entered New Zealand.[3] Chinese immigration and the number of Chinese females in New Zealand therefore took an upward trend (see Fig. IV and Fig. VIII). These temporary "refugee" permits were for two years only, and

1. N.Z. Immigration Department: Chinese Immigration, p. 2.
2. F. A. Ponton: op. cit., p. 105.
3. N.Z. Immigration Department: ibid., p. 2.

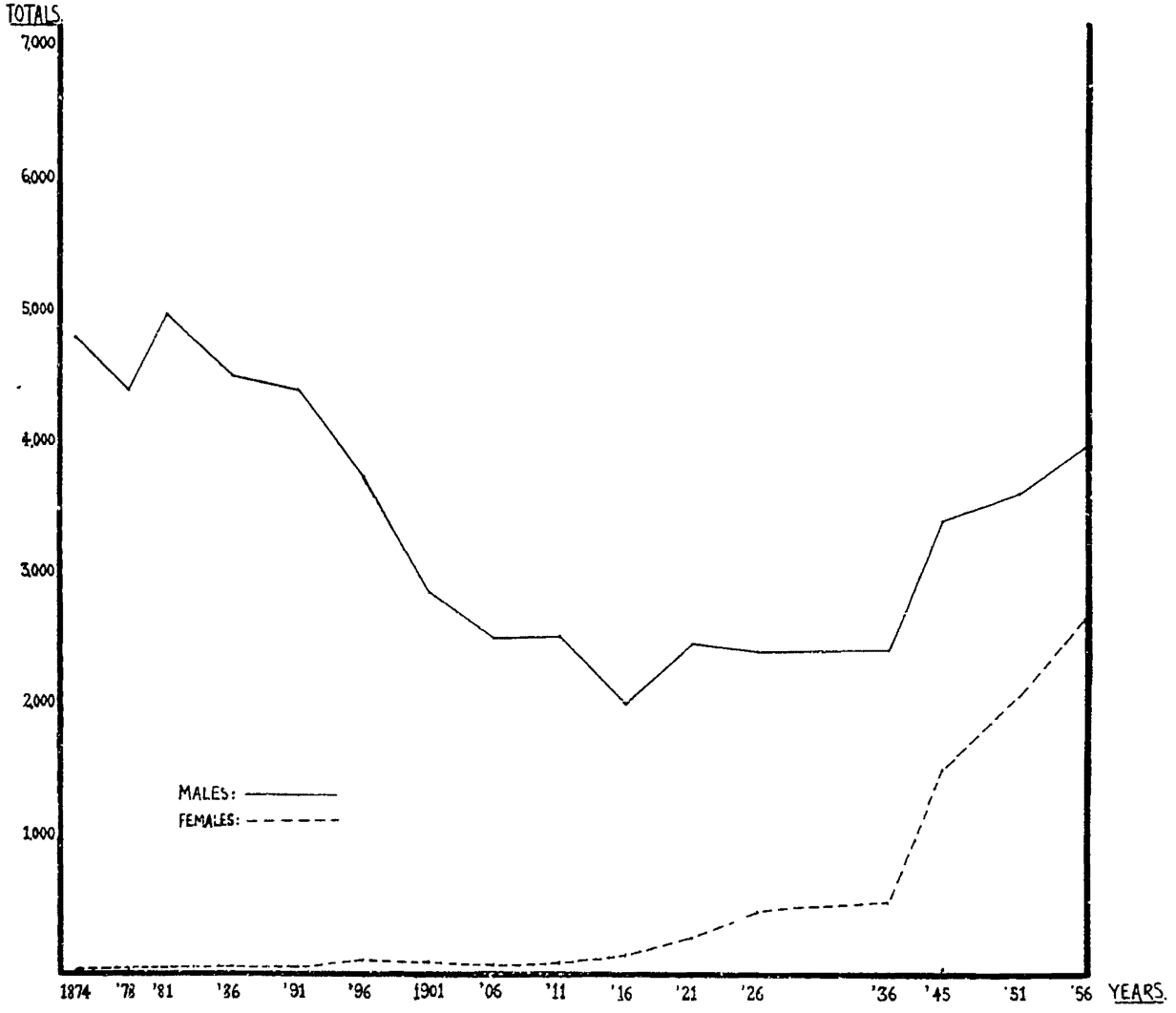


FIGURE VIII: COMPARISON OF CHINESE MALES AND FEMALES IN NEW ZEALAND, 1874 TO 1956.

(Statistics from "New Zealand Census")

each family permit carried a bond of £200 pounds to guarantee that the wives and their children, including those born during their sojourn in New Zealand, return to China upon expiration of their permits.[1] With the continuation of the war in China and the extension of Japanese activities in the Pacific area, the refugee permits were extended, but those concerned were still required to leave whenever the Minister of Customs so desired.

After the Second World War, the fate of these refugee wives and their children came up for consideration when the Dunedin Presbytery's Public Question Committee, in 1947, sent a deputation to the Government to seek permission for these refugees to remain permanently in New Zealand if they so desire. The Presbytery pleaded that "with inflation and civil war in China, it would be inhuman to force their return and to tear apart families now united." They went on to say that "many children are at school and their companionship with our children in lessons and play is of great educational value to young New Zealanders, especially in view of our tendency to insularity and isolation." The Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, assured them that the Chinese refugees would not be harshly treated, and that permits for their permanent residence would be given sympathetic consideration.[2]

1. Ng. B. Fong: The Assimilation of the Chinese in N.Z., M.A. Thesis, Otago, 1952, pp. 58-59.
2. Ng. B. Fong: op. cit., p. 60.

In July, 1947, the Cabinet approved of permanent residence for[1]:-

(1)	"Refugee" wives admitted in 1939 . . .	249
(2)	"Refugee" children	244
(3)	Children born in N.Z. to "refugee" wives .	437
(4)	Chinese men admitted temporarily to manage businesses while the owner visited China, and who had been here for at least five years.	3
(5)	Chinese male students who had completed their schooling and had been here at least five years	300 (approx.)
		1,323

News of this concession to the Chinese brought no public protests. The relationship between New Zealanders and the Chinese had, for some years, steadily improved, and besides China was now considered as an ally rather than as the "Yellow Peril" of the north. Previously, the Government by a Finance Act, in December, 1944, had repealed the poll-tax imposition on Chinese immigrants, although payment had been waived from 1934 onwards.[2]

The Dunedin Presbytery Committee made a further representation to the Government on behalf of the estimated 1,500 Chinese men for the admission of their wives and families who were still in China.[3]

1. N.Z. Immigration Department: op. cit., p. 2.
2. F. A. Ponton: op. cit., p. 71.
3. Ng B. Fong: op. cit., pp. 61-62.

Commencing in 1948 permits to enter New Zealand were granted to the following number of wives and children[1]:-

	Wives	Children
3 years ended 31st March, 1950. .	157	206
3 " " " " , 1953. .	307	331
2 " " " " , 1955. .	96	140
	560	677

The present policy of the Government toward Chinese immigration is aimed at the admission of wives and unmarried minor children of those Chinese who are citizens of this country either by birth or by naturalization. "The same privilege," stated the Immigration Department, "is not extended to Chinese residents who are not New Zealand citizens, unless the marriage took place before 13th March, 1951, which was the date when it was decided to clear up all outstanding cases of Chinese with wives and children abroad."[2] The present restriction, therefore, applies in effect only to those Chinese who do not wish to become New Zealand citizens. Legally any Chinese who are not in the category of wives or unmarried minor children of permanent Chinese residents could apply to enter New Zealand in the same way and on the same basis as anyone else. Very few adult males and unmarried adult females, however, have been admitted to New Zealand since 1926.

1. N.Z. Immigration Department: op. cit., p. 3.
2. N.Z. Immigration Department: op. cit., p. 3.

With the resumption of normal conditions after 1945, therefore, the arrivals and departures, and the total numbers of both Chinese males and females in New Zealand, all took an upward trend (see Figs. IV, VI and VIII). By 1956, the total number of Chinese in New Zealand had reached 6,667, being made up of 3,991 males and 2,676 females.[1]

Virtually all of the Chinese immigrants in New Zealand came, or originally came, from the three districts, namely the Seyip, Tsang-Shing, and Poon-Yu districts, around Canton City, which is situated on the Sikiang River delta area (see Fig. IX). Writing in 1903, G. H. McNeur estimated that about one-sixth of the Chinese came from the Seyip district and the other five sixths from the Poon-Yu and Tsang-Shing districts of the Kwantung Province.[2]

With the Chinese the spirit of kinship was strong, and they always emigrated to where their kinsmen had already gone, for passages were usually arranged and paid for in advance by relatives and friends already resident in New Zealand. The newer immigrants, when established, would in their turn send for relatives and fellow villagers to follow them. Chinese without overseas connections find it very difficult to get a footing. Very few Chinese in New Zealand are from areas outside the three districts of the Kwantung province already mentioned.

Of the Chinese immigrants in New Zealand, the great majority, especially the early migrants, were either peasant cultivators or

1. N.Z. Population Census, 1956, Vol. VII, p. 15.
2. G. H. McNeur: New Zealand and Her Other Immigrants, Dunedin, 1903, p. 12.

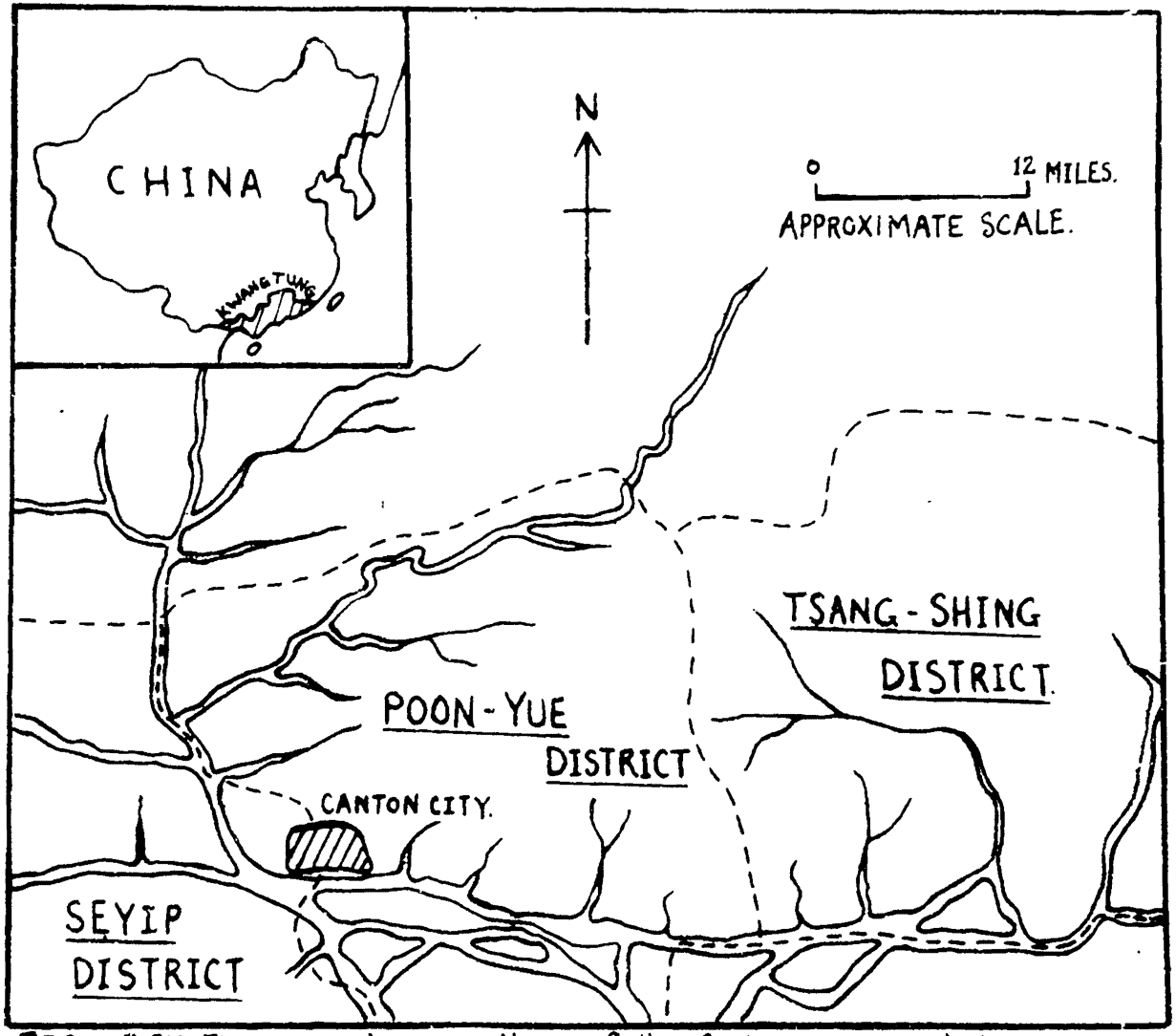


FIGURE IX: This map shows portions of the Si-Kiang River delta, and the three districts (Seyip, Poon-yue and Tsang-shing) where most of New Zealand's Chinese immigrants originally came from.

coolie labourers in China. They came with only their capacity for work and labour.

Most of the Chinese immigrants, in the early days of immigration in New Zealand, were young men. For example, of the 4,814 Chinese in New Zealand in 1874, 3,235 were under 35 years of age, 1132 were between the ages of 35 to 45 years, 372 were between 45 and 65 years, and only one was over 65 years of age.[1]

Very few Chinese women were in New Zealand during the early periods of immigration (see Fig. VIII). The Chinese gold-miners, like most of their European counterparts, did not bring their wives and families with them, since they came only as soldiers of fortune. New Zealand's anti-Chinese legislation, particularly the imposition of the poll-tax, and the hostility of the New Zealand colonists during the latter part of the Nineteenth century, were other reasons which discouraged the immigration of Chinese women to New Zealand.[2]

The number of Chinese women in New Zealand did not significantly increase until the later stages of immigration, or even, until quite recent years. The graph (Figure VIII) showing the number of Chinese females in New Zealand does not show any important rise until after 1920, when the Chinese realised that New Zealand, with further immigration legislation pending, might be closing her doors to further entry of Chinese. By this time, moreover, the Chinese in New Zealand had become relatively well established in

1. N.Z. Population Census, 1874, Part II, pp. 16-17
2. F. Fyfe: op. cit., pp. 8-9

their business and employment, and were being treated with a little more respect by the European community. A number, therefore, sent for their wives and families to join them.

The same graph (Figure VIII), however, does not take its first steep upward climb until after 1936, when Government policy permitted permanent Chinese residents to bring their wives and minor children into the country. The number of Chinese females in New Zealand has been further increased in later years by those who have been born in this country. The Chinese male and female ratio, therefore, has become much more balanced than ever before, being in the vicinity of about nine to four.

CHAPTER III:

THE SPREAD AND DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND

The first 'permanent' settlement of the Chinese in New Zealand began with the arrival of the first large groups of Chinese gold-miners in 1866 and 1867. By 1871, 2,640 had arrived in New Zealand, nearly every one of them settling on the various gold-fields in Otago, although some thirty odd were located in Westland, as the following table indicates[1]:

Total Chinese Population in New Zealand, 1871.
(By provincial districts)

Provincial Districts	Numbers
Auckland	8
Wellington	12
Nelson	3
Canterbury	10
Westland	31
Otago	2,576
	2,640

1. Statistics from N.Z. Census, 1871, Table No. 11.

Chinese miners continued to arrive, both from the Australian gold-fields and direct from China. The total number of Chinese in New Zealand had swelled to 4,814 by 1874. Of this new increase the largest number went to Otago, where the Chinese population increased to 3,563, which made up 4·24 per cent of Otago's total population. Some continued to settle in Westland and Nelson provinces where the Chinese population was 899 and 320 respectively.[1] Very few Chinese were to be found elsewhere in New Zealand at this stage (see Fig. X).

In Otago, the districts of Wakatipu (1,214 Chinese), Wakaia (606), Tuapeka (492), Dunstan (485), and Mt Ida (251) were the main areas of Chinese gold-mining and settlement.[2] In Westland and Nelson the main areas were the Grey Valley, the Hokitika district and the Buller Valley. In both areas a few Chinese were also found in the gold-field towns such as Alexandra, Ophir, Roxburgh, Cromwell, Queenstown, Greymouth and Hokitika. A few of these town dwellers may have been miners, although most of them worked at occupations which served the miners, such as hotel and eating-house keepers and servants, merchants, shop-keepers, gardeners and general labourers.

The Chinese goldminers, like his European counterpart, formed

1. N.Z. Census, 1874, Part I, p. 18.
2. Census, 1874, Part I, pp. 16-17.

a mobile population. They moved from claim to claim and from area to area. For example, although most of the Chinese on the West Coast came direct from China or from Australia, a number followed the routes of European migration, for example, via the Haast Pass to Hokitika and the Grey Valley.[1]

During the early Eighteen-eighties gold-mining, even for the fossicking and industrious Chinese, had begun to decline. From all the graphs so far shown, for example Figures V, XI, XII, it is obvious that 1881 was the last of the 'boom' years for the Chinese gold-miners in New Zealand. Thereafter, through more than three decades, the total number of Chinese in New Zealand, and the number of Chinese gold-miners, steadily decreased year by year (see Figs. V and XI). There was also a slow but gradual drift of Chinese from the gold-fields to the towns and cities (see Fig. XII). The drift to the North Island was also significant (see Fig. XI). Many, of course, returned to China.

1. M. J. McNeur: op. cit., p. 19.

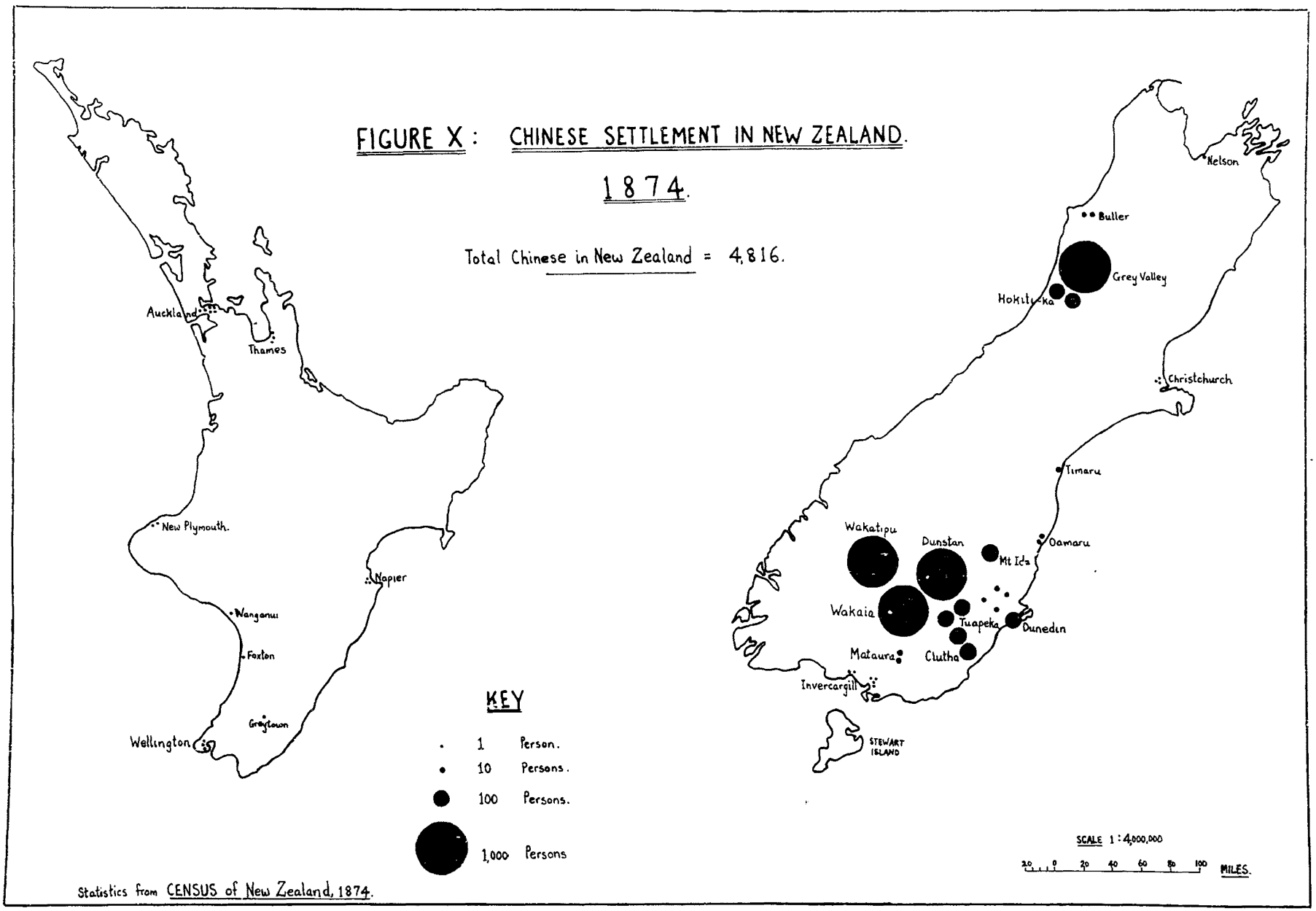


FIGURE X: CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND.
1874.
Total Chinese in New Zealand = 4,816.
Auckland
Thames
New Plymouth.
Napier
Wanganui
Foxton
Greytown
Wellington
Nelson
Buller
Grey Valley
Hokitika
Christchurch
Timaru
Oamaru
Wakatipu
Dunstan
Mt Ida
Wakaia
Tuapeka
Dunedin
Clutha
Mataura
Invercargill
STEWART ISLAND
KEY
1 Person.
10 Persons.
100 Persons.
1,000 Persons
SCALE 1 : 4,000,000
20 0 20 40 60 80 100 MILES.
Statistics from CENSUS of New Zealand, 1874.

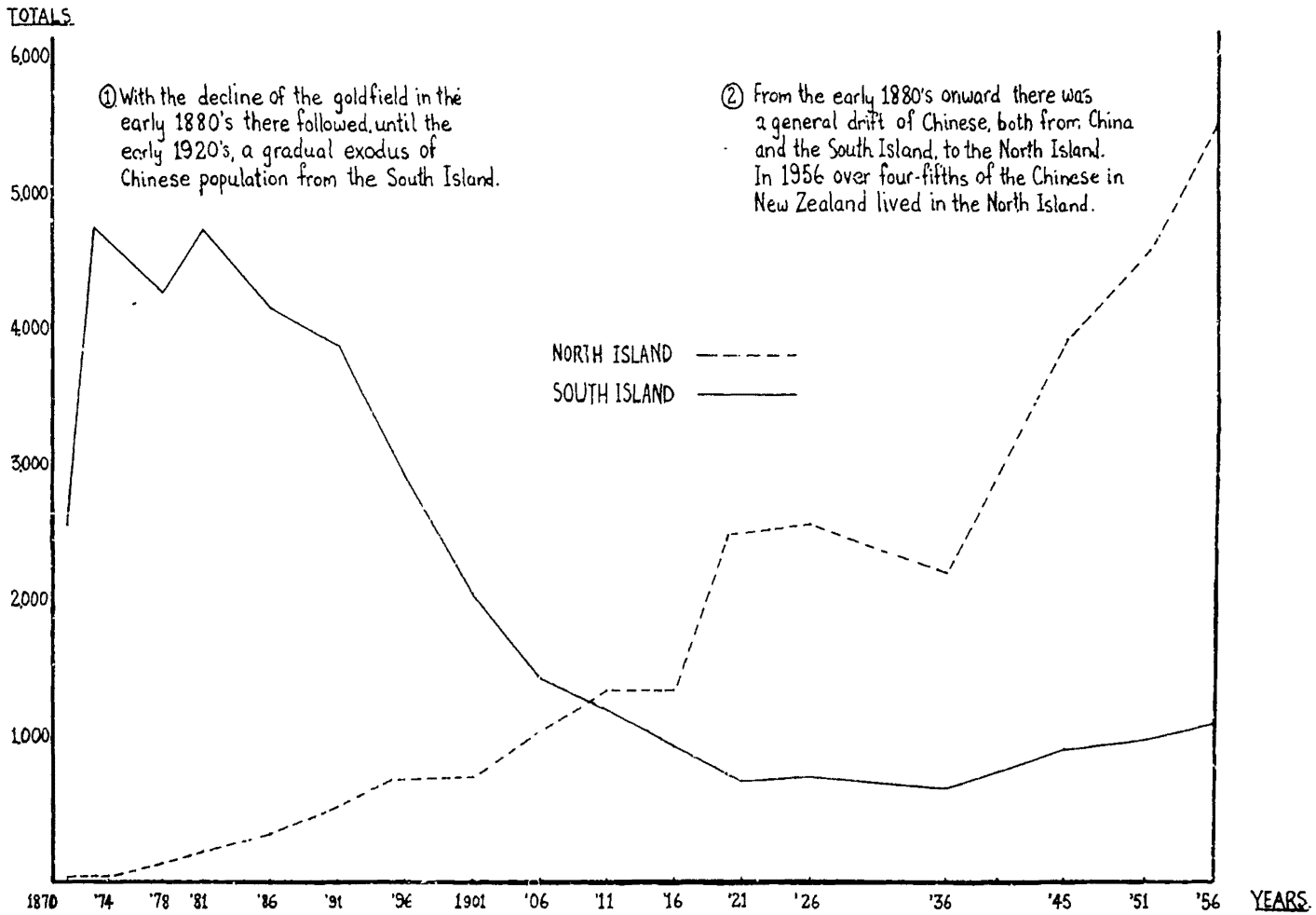


FIGURE XI : CHINESE POPULATION IN THE NORTH ISLAND AND SOUTH ISLAND. 1871 TO 1956.

[Statistics from CENSUS of New Zealand.]

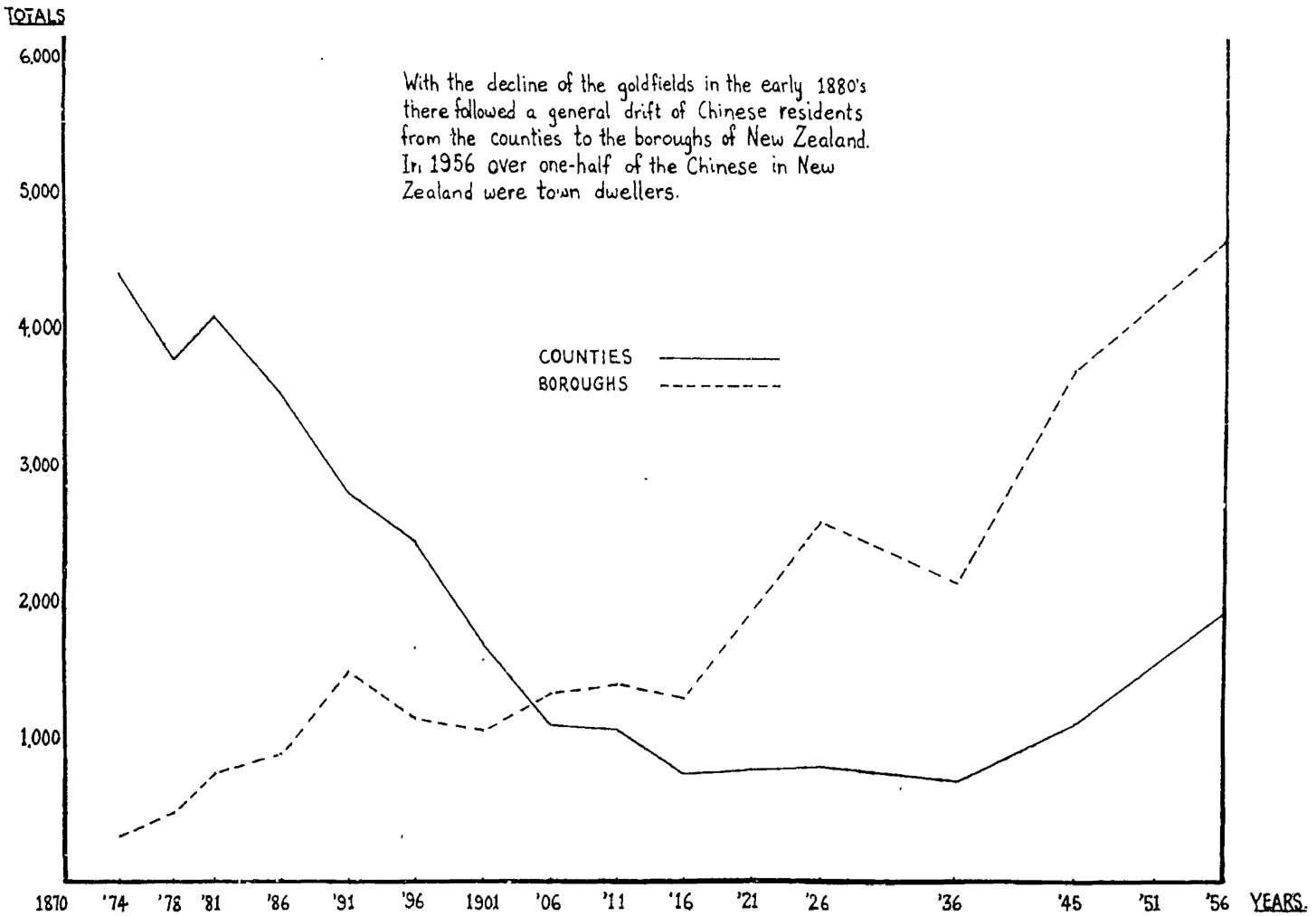


FIGURE XII : TOTAL CHINESE RESIDENT IN COUNTIES AND BOROUGHS IN NEW ZEALAND. 1874 TO 1956.

[Statistics from CENSUS of New Zealand.]

The following table shows, by provincial districts, the location of the Chinese in New Zealand in 1881[1]:-

Total Chinese Population in New Zealand, 1881.
(Males and females; by provincial districts).

Provincial Districts	Males	Females
Auckland	115	3
Taranaki	7	
Wellington	83	
Hawkes Bay	4	
Marlborough	1	
Nelson	451	
Westland	756	
Canterbury	135	
Otago	3,441	6
	4,993	9

At the turn of the century, most of the Chinese were still gold-miners and were still largely located in the Otago, Westland

1. Census, 1881, Part I, p. 19.

and Nelson provincial districts. But throughout this period the drift to the North Island and to the towns and cities, such as Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, Palmerston North and Auckland, and to the market-gardening lands near these cities, continued (see Fig. XIII). In 1901, according to the Census of that year, there were over 700 Chinese in the North Island, although there were still over 2,000 in the South Island.[1]

For the next twenty years this trend continued. By 1921 the days of the Chinese gold-miner were over; only fifty-nine were recorded as still being miners. The exodus of Chinese gold-miners from Otago, Westland and Nelson provinces was almost completed (see Fig. XIV). Those still remaining in the gold-field towns were engaged in occupations other than gold-mining, such as market-gardening, vegetable and fruit vending, and general labouring.

The pattern of distribution of the Chinese population in New Zealand was, by 1921, completely changed. The great majority followed the European migration to the more prosperous North Island. The 1921 Census showed 78·6 per cent in the North Island, and of this total four-fifths were found in the Wellington (1,233) and Auckland (933) provinces.[2] They were,

1. Census, 1901, Part I, p. 10.
2. Census, 1921, Part IV, p. 13.

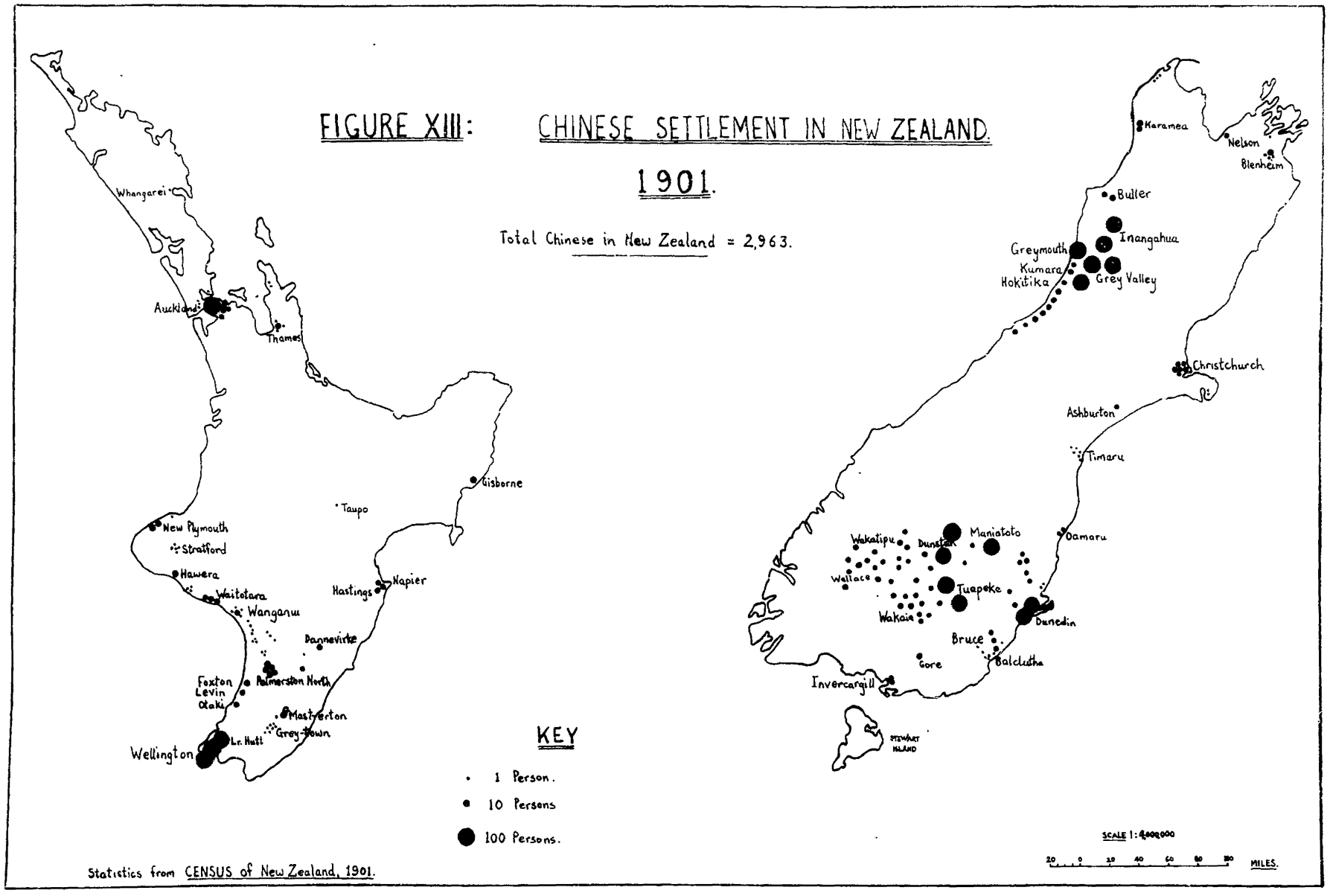


FIGURE XIII: CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND.
1901.
Total Chinese in New Zealand = 2,963.
Whangarei
Auckland
Thames
Gisborne
Taupo
New Plymouth
Stratford
Hawera
Waitotara
Wanganui
Hastings
Napier
Pannevirke
Foxton
Levin
Otaki
Palmerston North
Masterton
Grey Town
Lr. Hutt
Wellington
Karamea
Nelson
Blenheim
Buller
Greymouth
Kumara
Hokitika
Inangahua
Grey Valley
Christchurch
Ashburton
Timaru
Oamaru
Wakatipu
Dunstan
Maniatoto
Wallace
Tuapeka
Wakaia
Dunedin
Bruce
Balclutha
Gore
Invercargill
STEWART ISLAND
KEY
1 Person.
10 Persons
100 Persons.
SCALE 1:4,000,000
20 0 20 40 60 80 100 MILES.
Statistics from CENSUS of New Zealand, 1901.

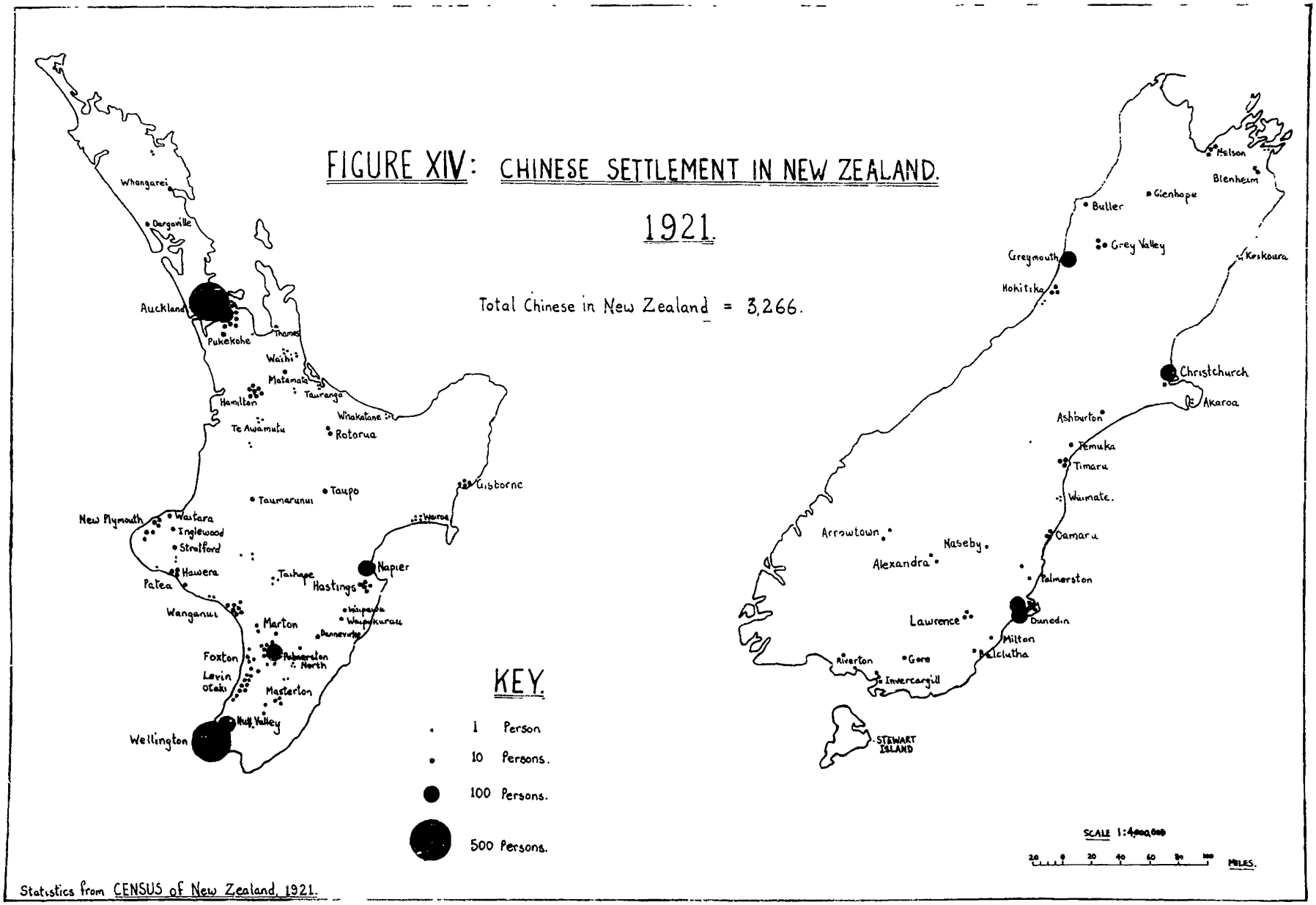


FIGURE XIV: CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND.
1921.
Total Chinese in New Zealand = 3,266.
Whangarei
Dargaville
Auckland
Pukekohe
Thames
Waihi
Matamata
Tauranga
Hamilton
Te Awamutu
Whakatane
Rotorua
Taupo
Taumarunui
Gisborne
Wairoa
New Plymouth
Wastara
Inglewood
Stratford
Hawera
Patea
Taihape
Napier
Hastings
Wanganui
Marton
Foxton
Palmerston North
Levin
Otaki
Masterton
Hutt Valley
Wellington
Waipawa
Waipukurau
Dannevirke
KEY.
1 Person
10 Persons.
100 Persons.
500 Persons.
Nelson
Blenheim
Buller
Glenhope
Grey Valley
Greymouth
Hokitika
Kaikoura
Christchurch
Akaroa
Ashburton
Temuka
Timaru
Waimate.
Arrowtown
Naseby
Alexandra
Oamaru
Palmerston
Lawrence
Dunedin
Milton
Clutha
Riverton
Gore
Invercargill
STEWART ISLAND
SCALE 1:4,000,000
20 0 20 40 60 80 100
MILES.
Statistics from CENSUS of New Zealand, 1921.

therefore, by no means evenly distributed throughout the country (see Fig. XIV).

Moreover, most were found in the main cities of New Zealand: Dunedin, Christchurch, Palmerston North, Napier, and especially Wellington and Auckland which had over 500 each. Away from the main cities, in the North Island, they were located in the strings of smaller towns, and their neighbouring rural areas, from Wellington to Palmerston North, from Wanganui to New Plymouth, from Wellington to Napier, and in the towns in the South Auckland region (see Fig. XIV). In the South Island they were located in the towns along the east coast, such as Ashburton, Temuka, Timaru, Oamaru, and Invercargill. Greymouth with just on one hundred was the last of the gold-mining towns still with a substantial Chinese population.

For ten years, between 1926 and 1936, the Chinese population in New Zealand showed a slight decrease from 3,374 to 2,943, but the pattern of distribution remained much the same as that established in 1921. The following table shows the distribution of the Chinese, including Chinese mixed-bloods, in New Zealand by provincial districts for 1936[1]:-

1. Census, 1936, Vol. IX, p. 3.

Total Chinese Population in New Zealand, 1936.
(Males and females; by provincial districts).

Provincial Districts	Males	Females
Auckland	786	132
Hawkes Bay	150	25
Taranaki	66	23
Wellington	831	202
Marlborough	7	-
Nelson	43	11
Westland	24	3
Canterbury	186	37
Otago	233	42
Southland	44	10
	2,370	485

For the next twenty years, from 1936 to 1956, however, the Chinese population more than doubled. The total in 1956 being just under 6,700. This large increase, as stated in the preceding chapter, was due to the admission of the wives and families of the Chinese already in New Zealand

and to the young children subsequently born in New Zealand. The 1956 Census showed that the number of Chinese females had increased more than five times upon that of 1936, and the male population had almost about doubled (see Fig. VIII).

Since the increase was due largely to the influx of wives and families it is to be expected, therefore, that most of the new immigrants would go to the North Island where most of the Chinese male population were to be found. By 1956, in spite of relatively large increases in the South Island, over four-fifths of New Zealand's Chinese population were located in the North Island. Wellington and Auckland provinces, with approximately 2,500 each, claimed five thousand of the Dominion total of just over six and a half thousand (see Figs. XV and XI).

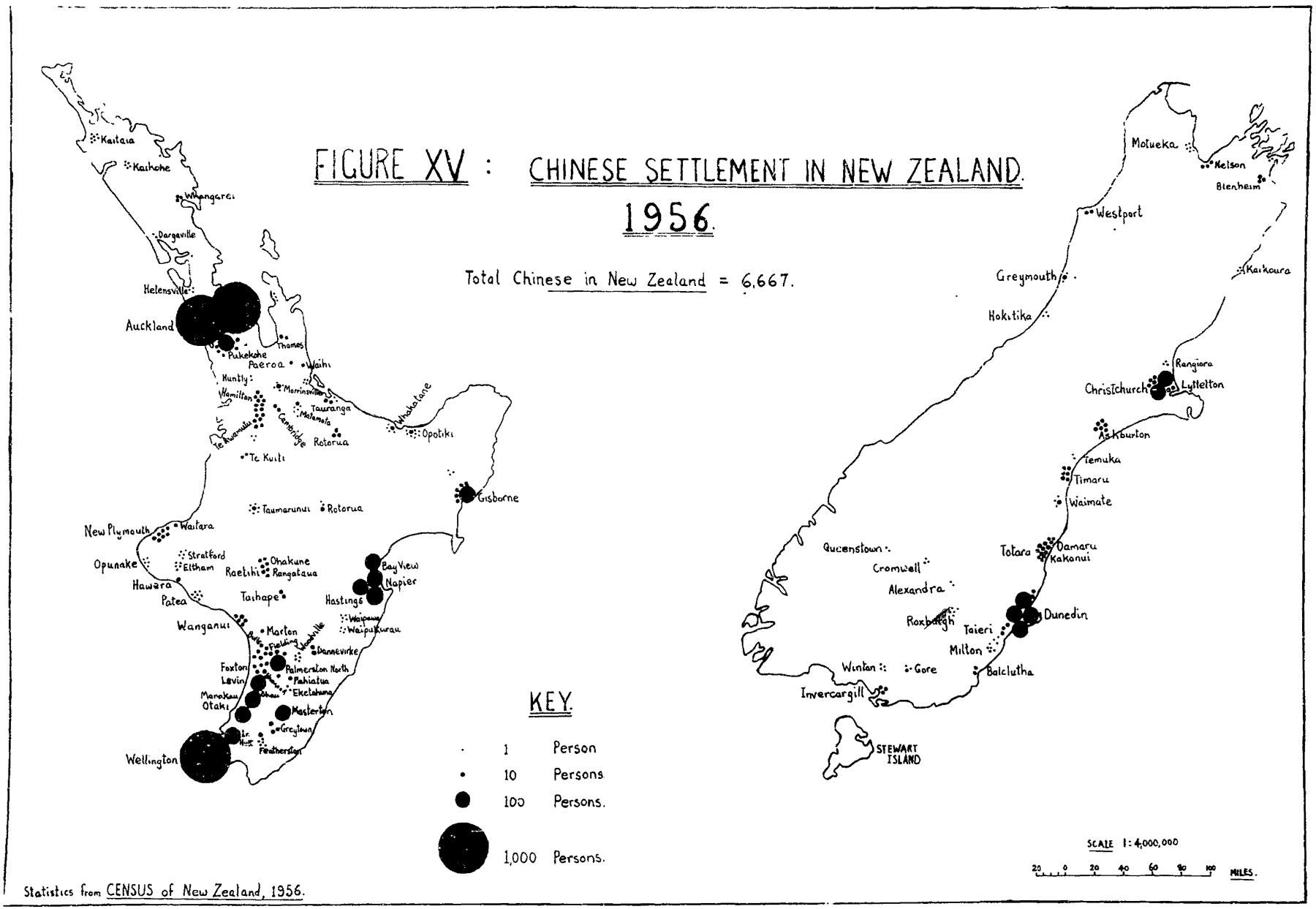


FIGURE XV : CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND.
1956.
Total Chinese in New Zealand = 6,667.
Kaitaia
Kaikohe
Whangarei
Dargaville
Helensville
Auckland
Pukekohe
Thames
Paeroa
Waihi
Huntly
Morrinsville
Hamilton
Tauranga
Matamata
Cambridge
Te Kuiti
Rotorua
Whakatane
Opotiki
Gisborne
Taumarunui
Rotorua
New Plymouth
Waitara
Stratford
Eltham
Opunake
Ohakune
Raetihi
Rangataua
Hawera
Patea
Taihape
Bay View
Napier
Hastings
Waipawa
Waipukurau
Wanganui
Marton
Feilding
Woodville
Dannevirke
Foxton
Levin
Palmerston North
Pahiatua
Eketahuna
Manakau
Otaki
Masterton
Greytown
Featherston
Wellington
Motueka
Nelson
Blenheim
Westport
Greymouth
Hokitika
Kaikoura
Rangiora
Christchurch
Lyttelton
Ashburton
Temuka
Timaru
Waimate
Queenstown
Cromwell
Alexandra
Totara
Oamaru
Kakanui
Roxburgh
Taieri
Dunedin
Milton
Balclutha
Wintan
Gore
Invercargill
STEWART ISLAND
KEY.
1 Person
10 Persons
100 Persons.
1,000 Persons.
SCALE 1: 4,000,000
20 0 20 40 60 80 100 MILES.
Statistics from CENSUS of New Zealand, 1956.

The following table shows the distribution of the Chinese population in New Zealand by provincial districts for 1956[1]:-

Total Chinese Population in New Zealand, 1956.
(Males and females: by provincial districts).

Provincial Districts	Males	Females
Auckland	1,562	999
Hawkes Bay	222	156
Taranaki	69	52
Wellington	1,433	1,024
Marlborough	21	15
Nelson	40	29
Canterbury	253	160
Westland	8	6
Otago	389	247
Southland	29	17
	4,026	2,705

The great majority, over two-thirds, of course, were urban dwellers (see Fig. XV). By 1956, almost every fair size town in New Zealand contained at least one or two Chinese families

1. Census, 1956, Vol. VII, p. 7.

(see Fig. XV), usually engaged in the fruit and vegetable retail business. The population in most of the larger towns and main cities, such as Auckland, Wellington, Hamilton, Gisborne, Napier, Christchurch and Dunedin, more than doubled, or even tripled and quadrupled, upon the figures of 1921 (see Figs. XIV and XV). The only exception was Greymouth where the Chinese population declined from about one hundred in 1921 to just on twelve in 1956.

The main rural or county Chinese communities were to be found in areas conveniently and favourable located for market-gardening, such as the rural areas of Mangere, Pukekohe, Hamilton, Gisborne, Napier, Hastings, Ohakune, Palmerston North, Foxton, Levin and Otaki in the North Island, and Christchurch, Ashburton, Timaru, Oamaru, Outram, Taieri and Balclutha in the South Island (see Fig. XV).

Thus through some ninety years in New Zealand, the centre of Chinese settlement has shifted from Central Otago to Wellington and Auckland, and they have changed from a band of rootless and mobile gold-miners to be a peaceful, industrious and permanently settled population, of predominantly urban dwellers, in almost all parts of New Zealand, though mainly in the North Island, engaged in shop-keeping, market-gardening, and numerous other occupations.

CHAPTER IV:

CHINESE OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES IN NEW ZEALAND

The attraction which first drew the Chinese to New Zealand was the hope and promise of gold. The Chinese, however, did not commence to arrive until the peak of the gold-rush period was all but over. The European miners resented their presence, but the provincial authorities desirous of seeing Otago's gold exploited to the full welcomed them on the grounds that they worked areas unattractive to Europeans, provided business to storekeepers and were a cheap source of labour.[1]

From 1866 onward Chinese gold-miners began to arrive in increasing numbers (see Fig. XVI), both from the Australian gold-fields and direct from China, whither tales of the "new gold hills" of the far south had reached. By 1874, 3,563 were in Otago, 899 in Westland, and 320 in Nelson.[2] In Otago they followed the European miners to various gold-fields as Tuapeka, the Clutha Valley, Wakatipu, Wakaia, Dunstan and Mt. Ida; in Westland they settled at the Hokitika and Grey Valley gold-fields and at Reefton, and the Buller Valley in Nelson.

The Chinese were never rivals of the European miners.

1. A. H. McLintock: History of Otago, Dunedin, 1949, p. 472.
2. Census, 1874, Part I, p. 18.

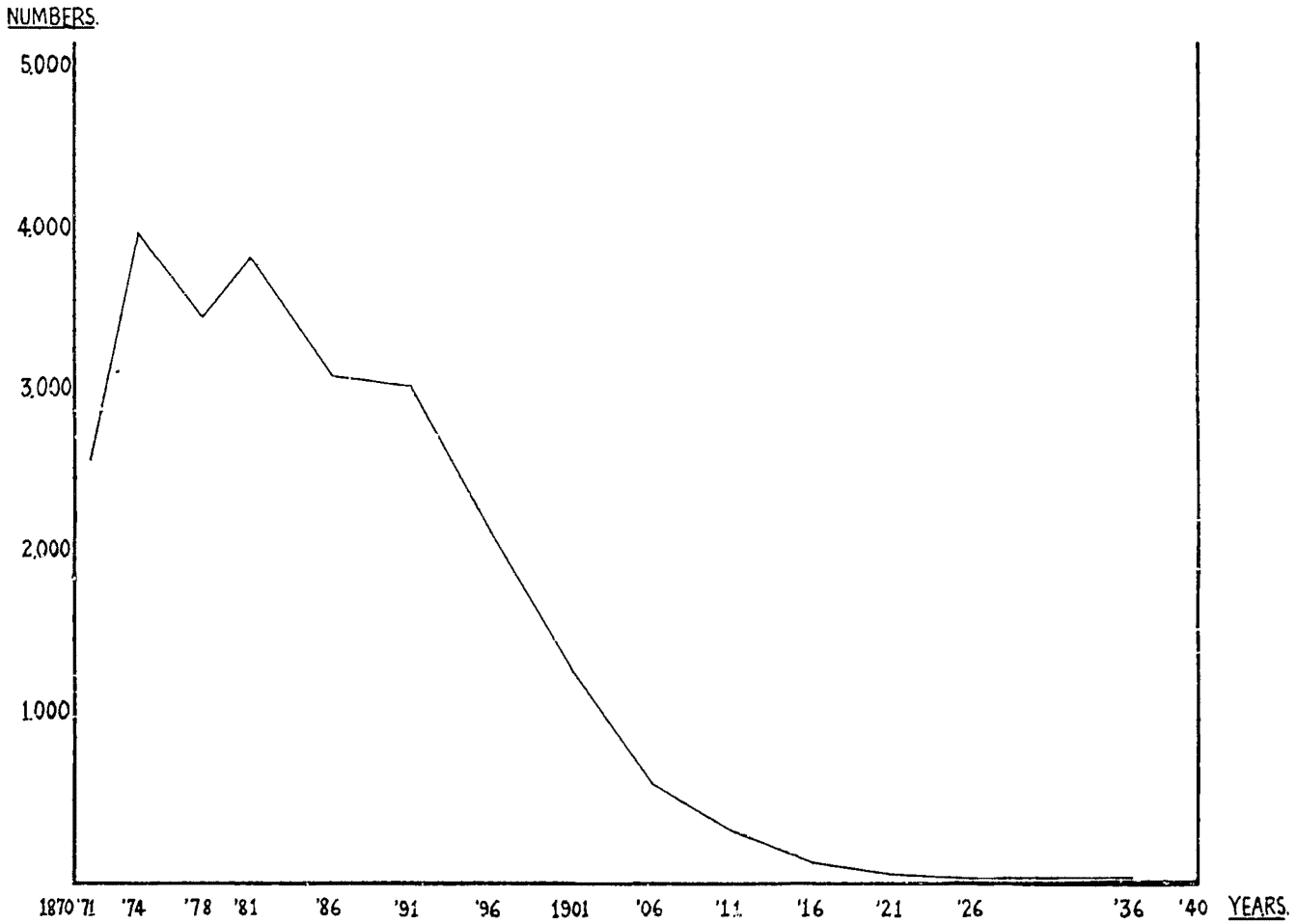


FIGURE XVI : THE INFLUX AND DECLINE OF CHINESE GOLD-MINERS IN NEW ZEALAND, 1871 TO 1936.

[Statistics from CENSUS OF NEW ZEALAND.]

They were contented to follow and not to lead. In the main they worked at abandoned claims, reopened old tail-races long abandoned and blocked up by European miners, and worked at areas which Europeans considered unprofitable.[1]

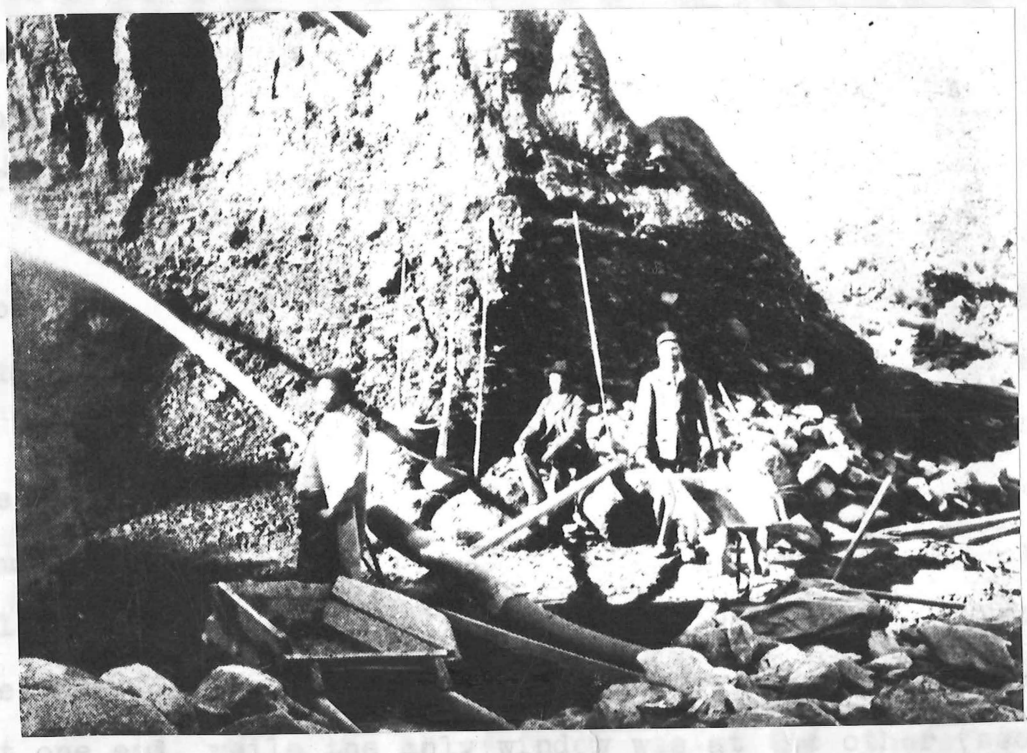
[2]The single miner, with a small claim but insufficient water for sluicing, had his pick, long handled shovel and cradle. If there was running water for sluicing purposes the cradle was replaced by a sluice-box in the tail-race, for the purpose of catching the gold as it was washed away with the "wash-dirt" down the race (see Photographs on Chinese sluice claims in Central Otago). The sluice box, a long, shallow wooden box without ends, usually had a false bottom of perforated iron plate, and underneath this a layer of coconut matting or coarse blanket, into which the grains of gold settled. To facilitate the course of the wash-dirt down the tail race, the miner used a sluicing fork for stirring up the material and for throwing out the larger stones.

If the claim was an extensive one, requiring more water for its successful working, several Chinese, usually four to six, would form a party. In a locality where water was not plentiful close at hand, the party would obtain the necessary rights for forming a storage dam and cutting a water-race from some creek or river to bring in the water. The storage dam would be made at some height above the ground to be worked,

1. A. H. McLintock: op. cit., p. 472.
2. The following sections on Chinese gold-mining in Central Otago are based primarily upon: M. J. McNeur: op. cit., pp. 58-61

LEFT and BELOW:

Chinese Sluicing Claims in Central Otago.



Photos from: G. H. McNeur, New Zealand and Her Other Immigrants, Dunedin, 1903.

and from the dam a line of canvas hose-pipe would run down to the claim and give some water pressure for breaking up and carrying off the earth. The tools were the same as those of the miner; the sluice box in the tail race would be multiplied to two or three, placed at intervals in the bed of the tail race.

Nearly all the Chinese miners in Otago were of the sluicing type - the placer miner. Only a few in some localities sunk vertical shafts and hauled up the wash-dirt with a windlass. A few tunnelled into a hillside and wheeled out the spoil with a wheel-barrow. From both shaft and tunnel the spoil was put through a sluice of running water to wash out the gold.

The Chinese miners possessed untiring industry. They arose early and work late, day in, day out. They worked in all weather, often gaining only a few shillings worth of gold after hours of toil. They lived simply and frugally. Some of the miners lived in tents, a few even in the natural caves found in the hills of Central Otago, although most of them, as a general rule, preferred to live in a more stable dwelling house or hut. The houses were generally built of cobblestones or clay, or of adobe where stones were scarce. Rice bags or a thatch of tussock and manuka were used for roofing. The huts were invariably saddle-roofed, the sides from four to five feet high and the ridge from seven to nine feet. The door and chimney might be at one end, while the only window was at the other (see

photographs of Chinese Miners' huts in Central Otago).

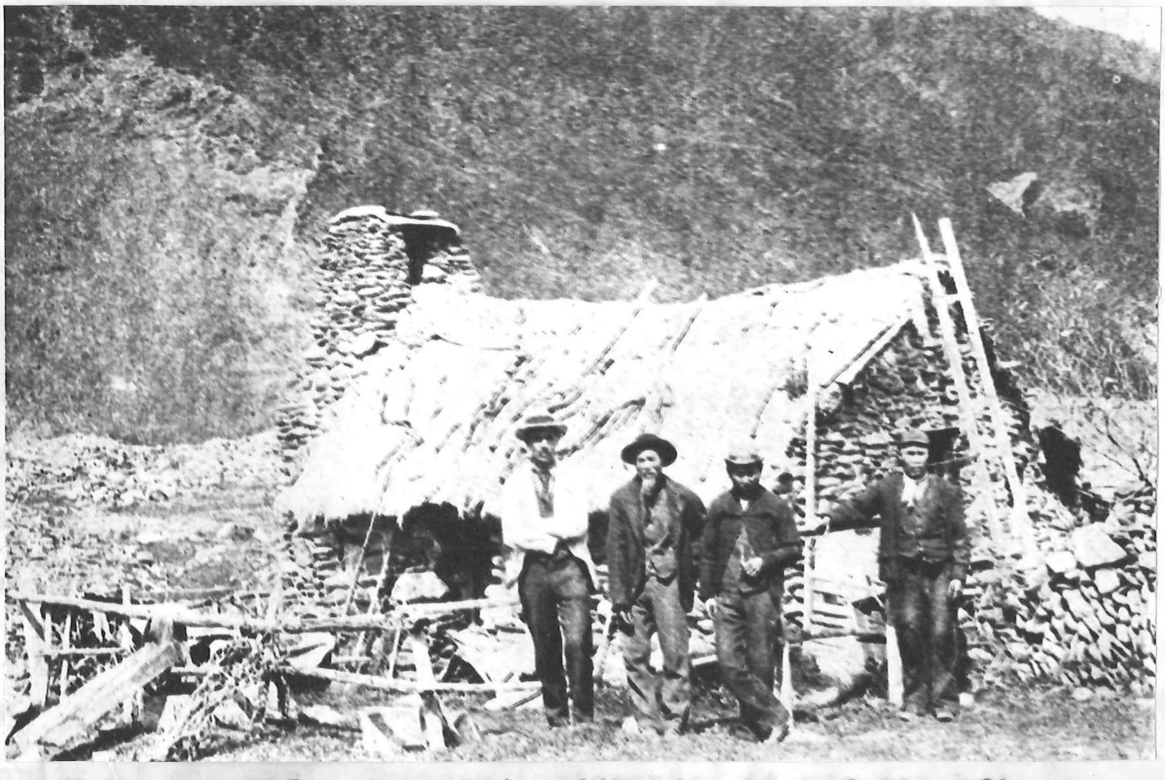
All the simple furniture - bedsteads, table, meat safe, rice bin, and stools- were made by the miners themselves. A large cask or jar outside gave a supply of fresh water, and near the hut might be a garden containing varieties of Chinese vegetables.

Some of the Central Otago Chinese gold-field settlements must have provided interesting sights for the Europeans. At Round Hill, Central Otago, for example, the Chinese settlement covered about five square miles, with a nucleus of thirty-eight houses near the centre, which Europeans called "Canton". These places were occupied by stores, boarding houses, and gambling and opium-smoking establishments.

In spite of their industry and frugality, the Chinese miners had their vices. The worst, of course, were gambling and opium smoking, in which many a miner must have lost his hard earned gold-dust and cash. Gambling and opium-smoking houses were found in Dunedin and other gold-field towns such as Lawrence, Naseby and Round Hill. Often a miner might return, penniless or even in debt, to his lonely gully to work ceaselessly for months until his small stock of savings again went the same way.

Nor were their efforts in mining always profitable. Many of the Otago miners had to eke out their scanty gold earnings by turnip thinning, gorse cutting, drain digging, and similar work for European farmers. Yet others had

Chinese Huts in Central Otago. Manuka handy for fuel, fencing and thatching.



A Chinese cobble-stone hut, with rice-bags for roofing.

Photos from: G. H. McNeur, New Zealand and Her Other Immigrants, Dunedin, 1903.

worked unsuccessfully for years in their attempt to make enough money to return to China; they lived in their old age, lonely and uncared for, living on the charity of their countrymen or by Government aid. Some had not even heard of their families and relatives for many years and could not hope to see again their native land. Those who did accumulate sufficient earnings either returned to China, or sent their savings home, in the form of sovereigns, by some fellow clausman or friend who was returning to their own district in China.

They worked among themselves and clung patiently and tenaciously to their tasks. It was unusual to find Europeans working on Chinese claims, although they did occasionally. Differences in culture, customs and habits and the language barrier kept them apart. Nevertheless, there were, in most districts, Europeans whom the Chinese recognised as their friends, and to whom they went for help and advice when in any difficulty. For many years, two Dunedin Presbyterian ministers, at first the Reverend Alexander Don, who was later followed by Reverend George H. McNeur, made many annual inland Otago missions to preach to the Chinese miners.

Although gold-mining, for over thirty years from their first arrival in New Zealand in 1866, occupied the great majority of the early Chinese immigrants, it was not by any means the only occupation. As early as 1874 a

considerable number were engaged in occupations which served the miners, such as hotel, boarding-house and eating-house keepers and servants, merchants and storekeepers, and market-gardeners, while many others were engaged as road and railway labourers, station and domestic cooks and servants, and as general labourers. The 1881 Census recorded the following as being the main occupations for the Chinese in New Zealand: gold-mining (3,858), market-gardening (460), shopkeepers and assistants (85), road and railway labourers (77), hotel-keepers and servants (60), general labourers (56), rabbiters (53), hawkers and pedlars (33), and station and domestic servants (29).[1] The great majority of these people were, at this stage, still located in Otago. The drift to the towns and to the North Island was only just beginning.

Nor were they all uneducated peasants. There were a few who possessed initiative, enterprise, and foresight. Mr Sew Hay, a wealthy Dunedin merchant, for example, was the pioneer in gold-dredging on the Shotover River.[2]

Even more notable was Mr Chew Chong,[3] who was one of the first Chinese to land in Dunedin in 1866. He probably tried his hand at gold-mining, in any case he was soon established as a buyer of old metal for export to China. Later he discovered that large quantities of edible fungus were to be found in the New Zealand forests, especially in Taranaki, and in 1868 he collected them for export to China. Between 1870

1. Census, 1881, Part VII, P. 270.
2. M. J. McNeur: op. cit., p. 69.
3. G. H. Scholfield (editor): Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol. I, Wellington, 1940, pp. 154-55.

and 1904, he exported fungus to the value of £375,000 pounds. Many struggling Taranaki farmers received welcome increments of income from this source. He also tried his hand at exporting butter, although without financial success, to Australia and England. But in 1887, he established the Jubilee Dairy Factory at Eltham, Taranaki. Two years later he installed a separator, believed to be the first in New Zealand, so paving the way for one of the country's most important industries.

After 1881, the peak period for Chinese gold-miners was past (see Fig. XVI). Year by year the number of miners decreased, and soon after the turn of the century mining was all but over, although a few remained at it until the Nineteen-thirties. Those who had not returned to China drifted into the towns and cities to take up new occupations. Two things still remain in the landscape as witness to these early gold searchers: the enormous heaps of stones and the neat stone walls and shelters built by them.

As the drift of the Chinese population, both of miners and of new and returned immigrants, to the North Island and to the towns and cities continued, so the concern of the European city worker, with regard to this influx of Chinese, grew. They potested that the Chinese worked longer hours and for lower wages, thereby introducing unfair competition into the labour market. The Chinese, they maintained, could live much more cheaply, and sent money out of the country.[1] This

1. M. J. McNeur: op. cit., p.70.

concern of the Europeans soon spread into anti-Chinese agitation.

While "the root of this agitation was fear of Chinese cheap labour, the key to the agitation was," stated F. Fyfe, "that the drift of the Chinese to the cities took place during New Zealand's first serious economic depression. But the depression was caused by financial deflation and a faulty system of land distribution, and not by Chinese immigration."[1] Moreover, the small number of Chinese as yet in the cities as gardeners, laundrymen and greengrocers were not competitors in the labour market, but hatred was not rational and it was easy to blame the Chinese.[2]

From the gold-field to the town was not an easy change for these early generations of Chinese immigrants. They were severely handicapped by language difficulties and lack of capital. Above all they were unwanted.

Faced with these difficulties, it was perhaps natural that the greatest proportion, at first, took up market-gardening (see Fig. XVII). After all, they were all well acquainted with the land and intensive methods of cultivation on small areas. In the sheltered valleys of Wellington city and on the outskirts of Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin and other large towns, the Chinese market-gardeners leased a few acres of land off European landowners, carefully cultivated their

1. F. Fyfe: op. cit., p. 70.
2. F. Fyfe: op. cit., p. 34.

vegetables, and sold their produce from door to door or delivered them into the city by the age old method of a pole and two baskets. Sometime later, the Chinese gardener with his horse and dray loaded with fresh produce was a familiar sight on the streets.

They worked very long hours, from daylight until dark, on every day of the week. Horses drew their ploughs and discs, and large wooden rake-like objects drew the seed-lines. Home to the gardeners was often only a simple wooden house or hut with a beaten earth floor. The eyes of these gardeners were still on their home-land, China, to which they hoped to return one day. They were, so to speak, still only sojourners in New Zealand. Although new and returned immigrants were still coming into the country, the total Chinese population was decreasing year by year (see Fig. V).

From market-gardening, the next natural step was to the retailing of fruit and vegetables. Many of them had probably had some business experience in the market towns in China, and they took to vending and retailing readily.[1] The forerunners of the fruit and vegetable retail shops were the door-to-door gardener-vendors who sold their produce carried in baskets slung at the end of a pole or carried on a horse and dray.

The present ubiquitous Chinese greengrocer and fruit-shop did not appear in the New Zealand towns in large numbers

1. W. Mawson: The Chinese Immigrant in New Zealand, 1927, p.1.

until the period during and after the First World War (see Fig. XVII). After all, to outfit a shop at any time requires quite considerable capital and vacant shops were not always readily available. These early fruit-shops were family businesses or, more likely, partnerships, with living quarters located at the back of the shop. The Chinese fruiterer quickly gained a reputation for cleanliness and for the freshness of his produce. His success, however, was again due to diligence and the long hours that were worked.

A considerable number took up laundry work (see Fig. XVII). This menial task attracted early immigrants as it required little capital or business ability to establish. To make it a profitable business required only cleanliness and willingness to work long hours.

In each of the four main cities of New Zealand, where most of the Chinese population lived and worked, there were at least one or more Chinese merchants. Although small in number these merchants played an important role for the early Chinese immigrant. Not only did they sell Chinese foodstuff and merchandise, but they were also meeting places for the local Chinese or visitors who had come into town for the day or weekend. Often they also acted as a "post-office" for letters sent from China, and even as a "bank" when someone wished to deposit his money for safe-keeping.

Although market-gardening, fruit and vegetable retailing and laundry-work were the major occupations for the Chinese in

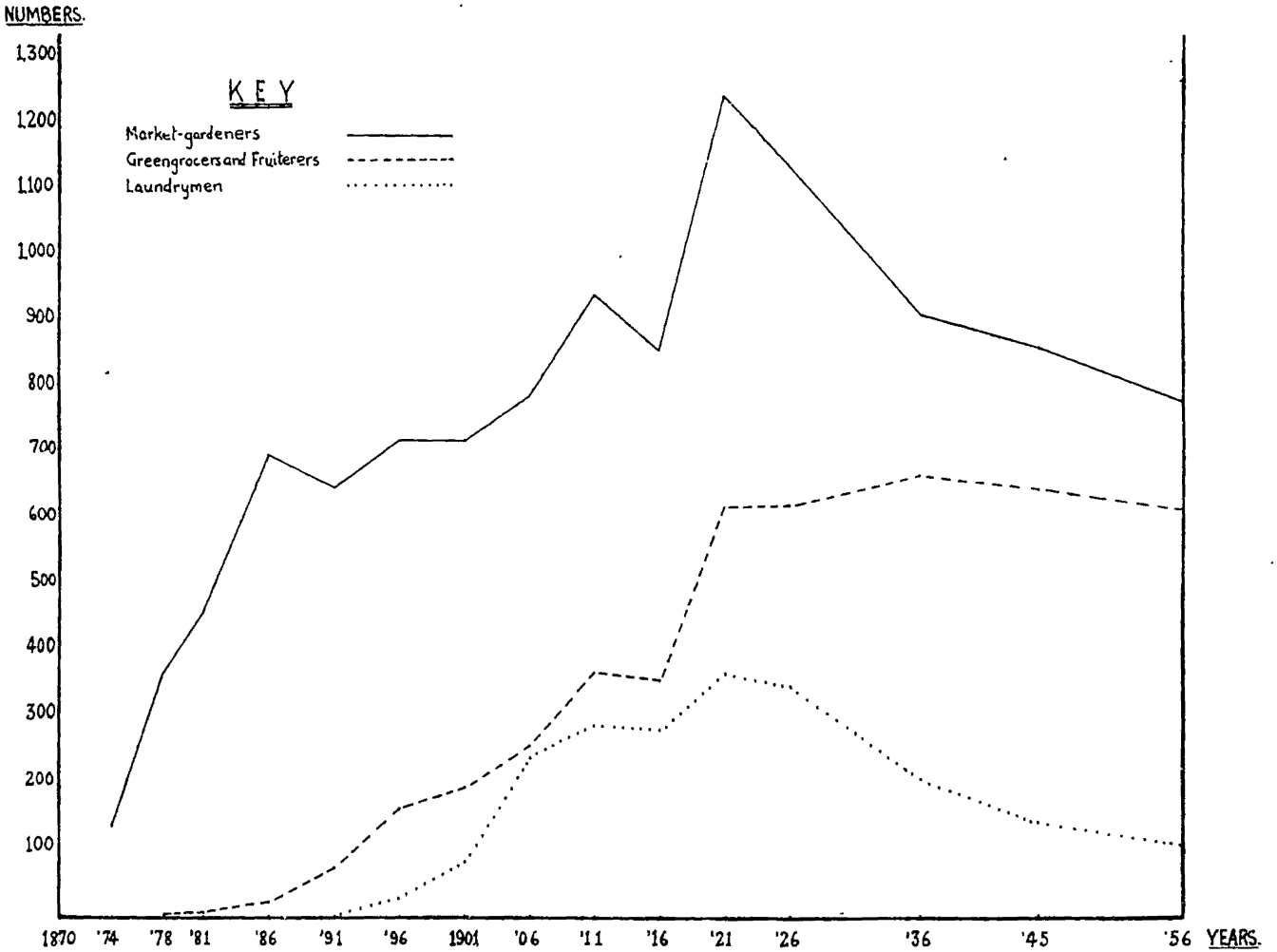


FIGURE XVII: TOTAL NUMBERS OF CHINESE MARKET-GARDENERS, FRUITERERS AND GREENGROCERS, AND LANDRYMEN IN NEW ZEALAND, 1874 TO 1956.

[Statistics from CENSUS OF NEW ZEALAND.]

the Nineteen-thirties, there were others employed as cooks, clerks, grocers, Chinese curio and fancy-goods shopkeepers, as well as other types of shopkeepers and assistants.

The 1936 Census listed the following as being the chief occupational groups for the Chinese in New Zealand: gold-miners (18), market-gardeners (914), greengrocers and fruiterers (672), laundrymen (210), shop-keepers and assistants (201), cooks (29), grocers (13), and clerks (9).[1] They might well have entered other lines of occupation, but restrictive measures adopted by labour unions at this stage prevented this.

During World War II the demand and prices for fruit and vegetables increased considerably, and with the return of servicemen and the great population increase in New Zealand during the post-war years this period of business prosperity continued, bringing with it increased opportunities for young men seeking to own their own businesses. These prosperous years gave many the incentive to modernize their shops, mechanize their gardens, and to establish new shops and gardens. A people of whom a generation ago it was said, "you cannot expect them to understand mechanical things," have become experts on cars, trucks, farm implements, and shop labour-saving gadgets. A people who have been taken as an example of endless toil, have given majority support to moves for set trading hours and better working conditions in shops.

1. Census, 1936, Vol. IX, pp. 23-25.

All this while new generations of young Chinese, whether born in New Zealand or arriving in the country as young children, were growing up and being educated in New Zealand schools. Advanced education, so prized in the Chinese community, has fitted young men and women for many callings, which prior to World War II had been closed to them.

Economic opportunities are now open to the Chinese in almost every field of occupation: The 1956 Census recorded 2,316 males and 568 females actively employed in thirty occupational and industrial groups.[1] This diversification of employment is a healthy advancement upon the traditional occupations of market-gardening, fruit and vegetable retailing and laundry-work, although the majority, especially the older folk, however, are still engaged in these types of work.

Market-gardening is still one of the major occupations. In fact, in the years since the Second World War during which gardening has been a relatively lucrative business, many of the younger generation, as well as older folks, have opened many new gardens in all parts of New Zealand.

Conditions of work, however, have made considerable progress since the days of the horse and plough. Today, the gardeners and their families live in well built homes, and the hours of work are not nearly so arduous as they were formerly. The latest machines, farm implements and scientific methods of

1. Census, 1956, Vol. VII, p. 40.

cultivation are being used in the gardens.

There is now also a "New Zealand-Chinese Growers' Association," which is affiliated to the "New Zealand Vegetable Federation." The Chinese Growers' Association produces a paper once a month discussing techniques of gardening and provides advertising space for seed merchants, agricultural machinery firms, and others.

The vegetables produced are transported by trucks, rail, ships, and even by air to the larger towns and cities, where it is sold by European-controlled produce auction-rooms.

Taking all these facts and figures into consideration, it can be seen that Chinese market-gardening is a flourishing and thriving business, and they play a major role in the country's production of vegetable produce. The Department of Horticulture recorded that Chinese gardeners, in 1956, cultivated 6,383 acres, or 31·5 per cent of the country's commercial-gardening produce.[1] A well-known Auckland produce-market owner has stated that the Chinese produce about 75 per cent of the country's "green" vegetables: while the Secretary of the New Zealand Growers' Federation has stated that each year New Zealand produces vegetables to the value of some £7 million pounds, of which the Chinese command about one-half.[2]

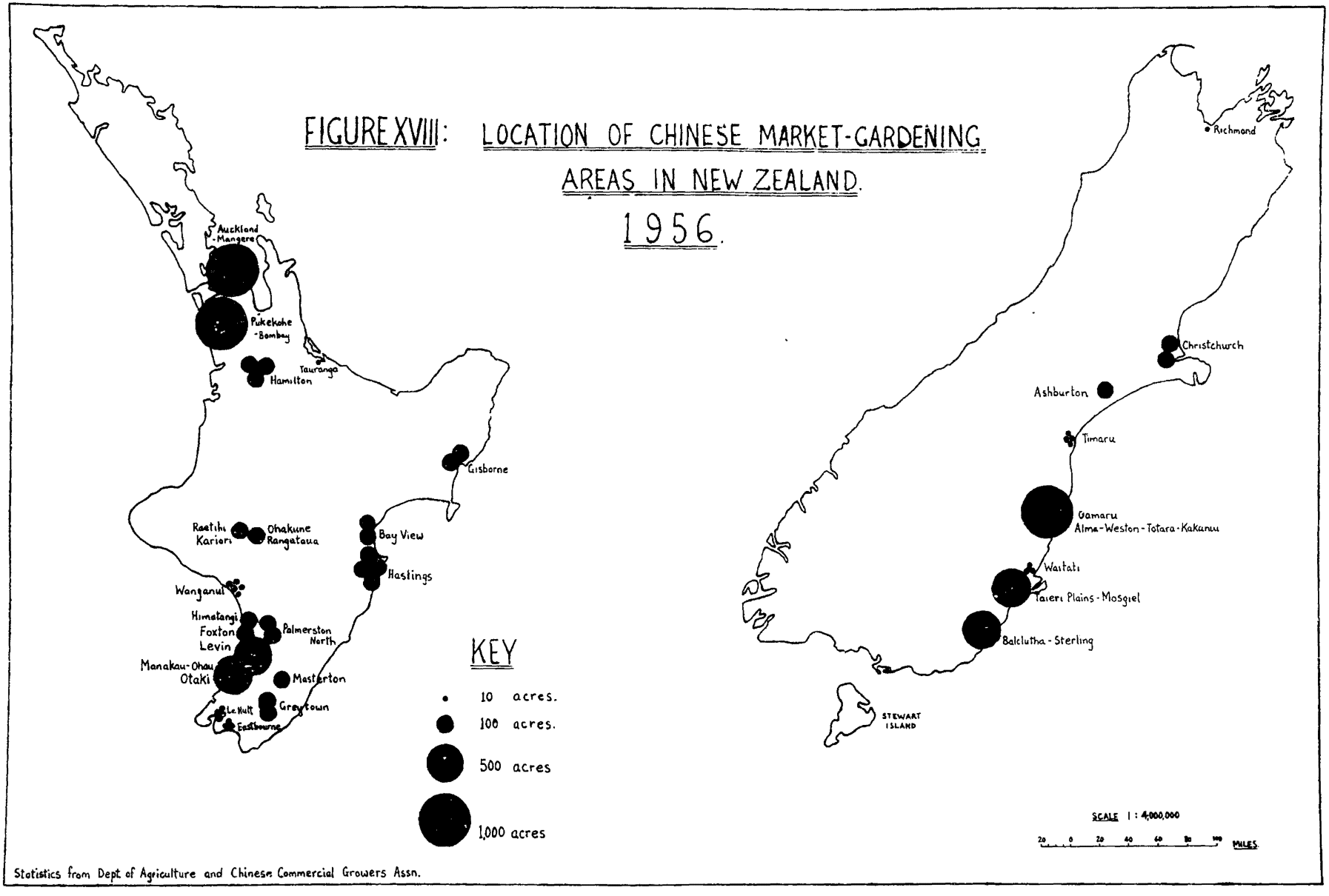
1. Statement issued by the Dept. of Horticulture, 30th. September, 1956.
2. Statement issued by the Secretary, New Zealand Growers' Federation, February, 1958.

Chinese market-gardens to-day are not only to be found haphazardly on the outskirts of any town or city, but are also located on some of the best market-gardening land in the country (see Fig. XVIII).

The Mangere district, immediately outside Auckland City, once the scene of numerous small, four to ten acre, Chinese gardens, is now slowly on the decline, being pushed out by the expansion of Auckland. A considerable number have travelled a little way south to Pukekohe, where the warm climate, the rolling land, very fertile basalt soils, and proximity to Auckland, make the district extremely favourable for market-gardening. At present there are over thirty Chinese gardens, cultivating over one thousand acres, at Pukekohe.

Numerous small Chinese gardens at Gisborne, Bay View and Hastings, provide vegetables for Hawkes Bay and Gisborne, and elsewhere if the prices are good.

During the Second World War, large acreages in the Ohakune-Raetiki district were cleared of stumps and opened up for cultivation by Chinese gardeners to provide vegetables for the armed forces. Unfortunately, these gardeners found that the soil became exhausted of fertility after only a few years of cultivation. Many of the gardens were abandoned and the land returned to the European owners. A number of the gardeners moved north to open new gardens at Pukekohe.



Statistics from Dept of Agriculture and Chinese Commercial Growers Assn.

The early Chinese gardeners in the lower Hutt Valley, after being pushed out by Wellington's urban expansion, migrated north to Otaki, Levin and Foxton. Today most of the Chinese gardens of the Wellington province are to be found scattered between Otaki and Palmerston North (see Fig. XVIII).

The number of Chinese gardens on the outskirts of Christchurch is also decreasing as a result of housing expansion. Instead, the main area of Chinese market-gardening in the South Island is now located in the Alma-Weston-Totara-Kakauiu districts, immediately south of Oamaru, where the extremely fertile basaltic ash and high lime content soils and relatively mild climate make them most favourable for vegetable production. The rise of this region as a market-gardening area has only been recent, but already there are over thirty Chinese gardens, cultivating more than a thousand acres (see Fig. XIX). There is also a Chinese population of about two hundred present (see photographs of Chinese gardens at Totara and Kakanui). Further south, there are large Chinese market-gardening acreages on the fertile alluvial soils of the Taieri Plains and the Balclutha - Stirling area.

Closely related to the expansion and mechanization of Chinese market-gardens during the post-area period has been the increase in numbers and modernization of Chinese fruit and vegetable retail shops. By 1956, the Chinese fruit-shop is a ubiquitous feature of most New Zealand towns and cities (see Fig. XX). The greatest number of shop are,

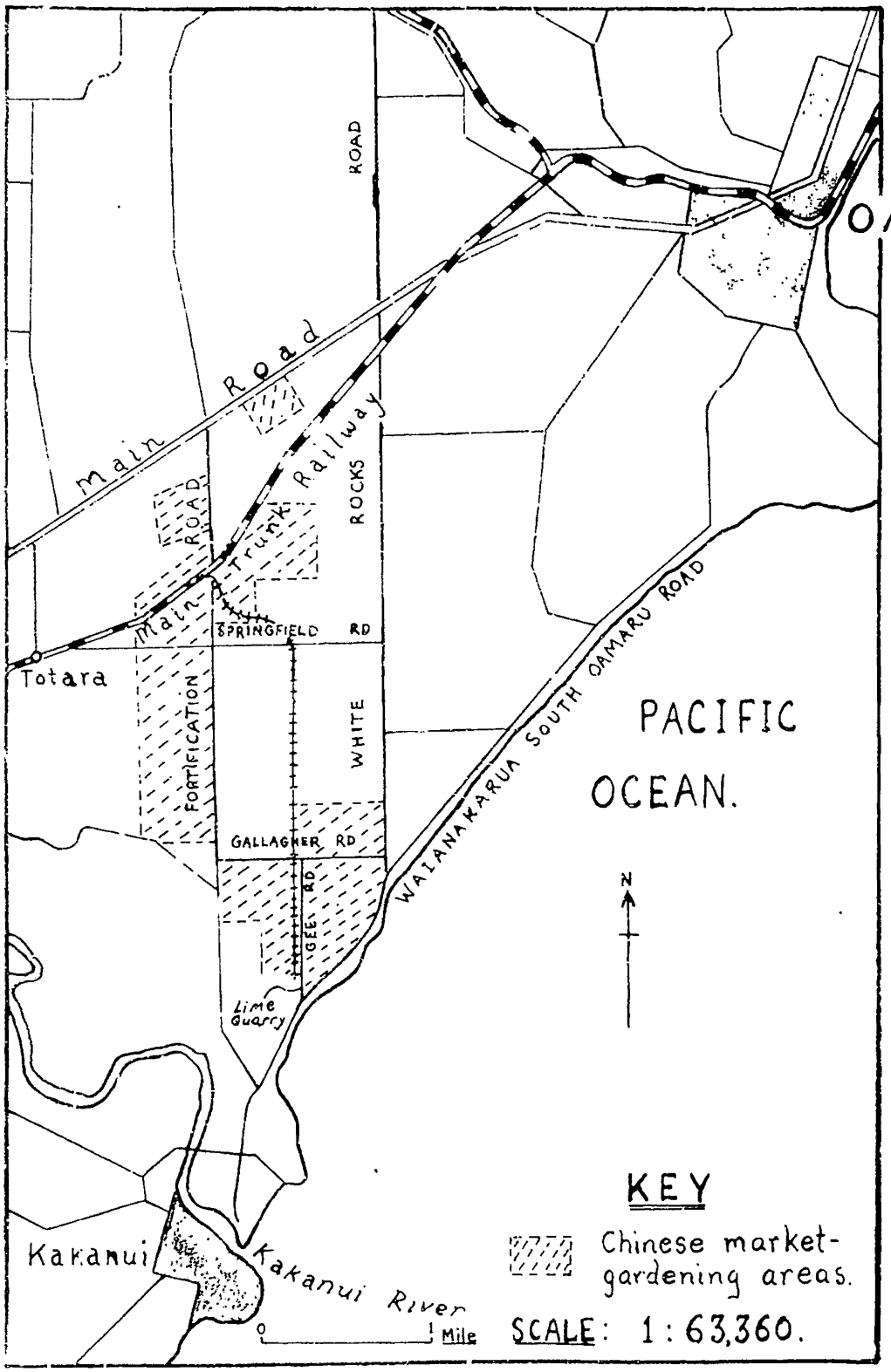


FIGURE XIX : Chinese Market-gardening Land At South Oamaru.

LEFT: A Chinese Market-garden Settlement At South Oamaru.

RIGHT: A Chinese Market-garden Scene At Kakanui, South Oamaru.

(Photos by Author.)

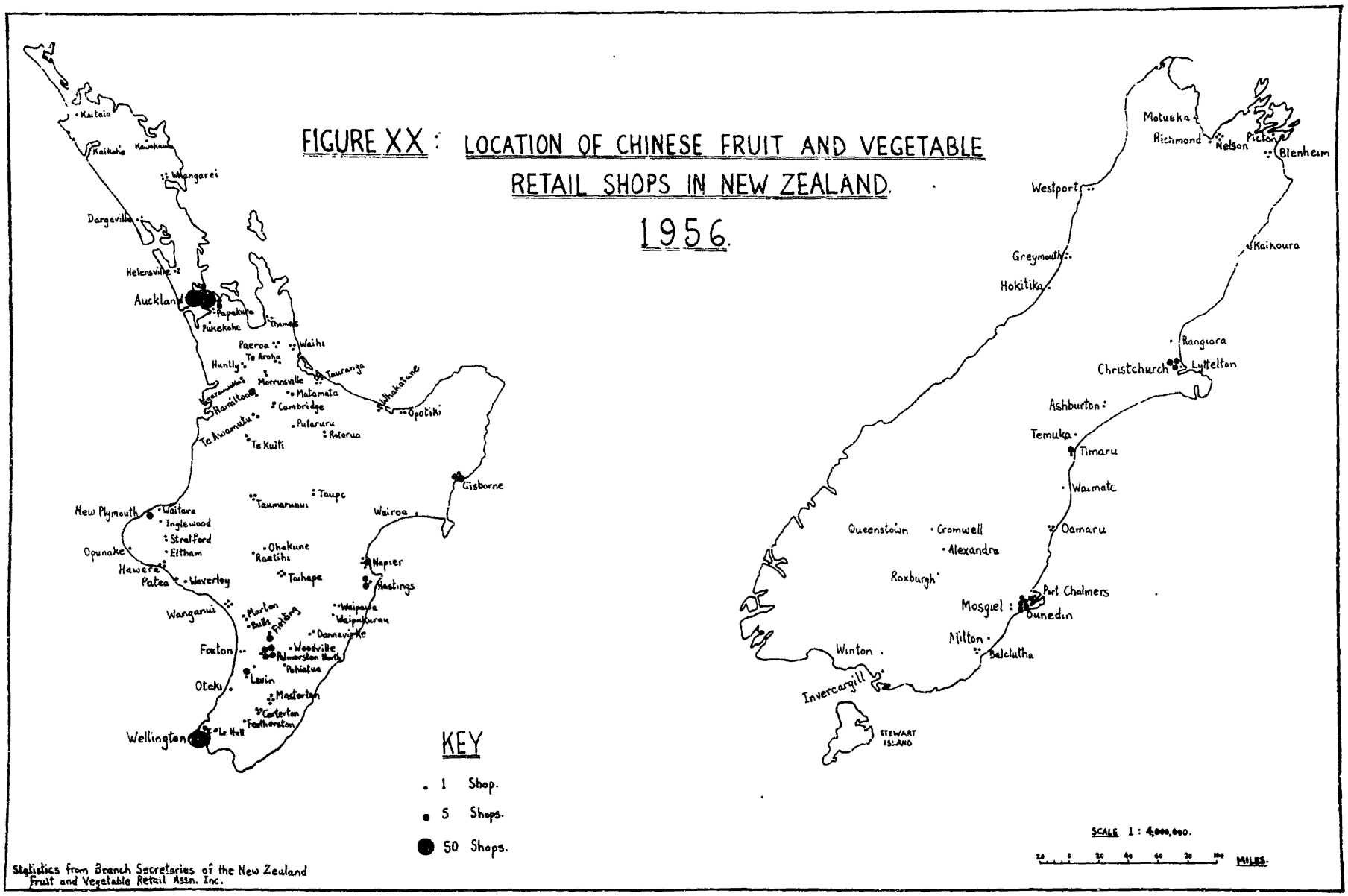
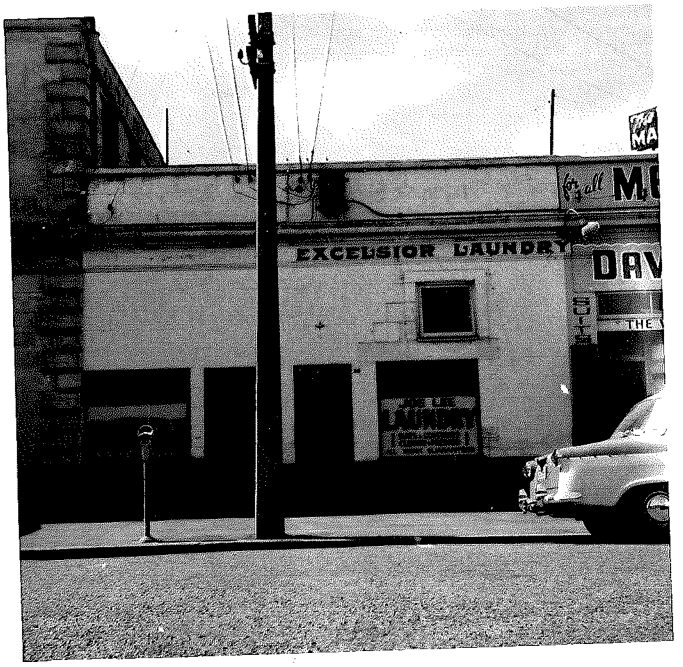


FIGURE XX : LOCATION OF CHINESE FRUIT AND VEGETABLE RETAIL SHOPS IN NEW ZEALAND.
1956.
Kaitaia
Kaikohe
Kawakawa
Whangarei
Dargaville
Helensville
Auckland
Papakura
Pukekohe
Thames
Paeroa
Waihi
Te Aroha
Huntly
Tauranga
Morrinsville
Matamata
Hamilton
Cambridge
Whakatane
Opotiki
Te Awamutu
Putaruru
Rotorua
Te Kuiti
Gisborne
Taumarunui
Taupo
Wairoa
New Plymouth
Waitara
Inglewood
Stratford
Eltham
Opunake
Ohakune
Raetihi
Napier
Hawera
Patea
Waverley
Taihape
Hastings
Wanganui
Marton
Bulls
Feilding
Waipawa
Waipukurau
Dannevirke
Foxton
Woodville
Palmerston North
Pahiatua
Otaki
Levin
Masterton
Carterton
Featherston
Wellington
Lower Hutt
Motueka
Richmond
Nelson
Picton
Blenheim
Westport
Greymouth
Kaikoura
Hokitika
Rangiora
Christchurch
Lyttelton
Ashburton
Temuka
Timaru
Waimate
Queenstown
Cromwell
Alexandra
Oamaru
Roxburgh
Port Chalmers
Mosgiel
Dunedin
Milton
Balclutha
Winton
Invercargill
STEWART ISLAND
KEY
1 Shop.
5 Shops.
50 Shops.
SCALE 1 : 4,000,000.
MILES
Statistics from Branch Secretaries of the New Zealand Fruit and Vegetable Retail Assn. Inc.

LEFT: A Modern Chinese Fruit And Vegetable Retail Shop.



RIGHT: An Old Established Chinese Laundry.

(Photos by Author).

of course, to be found in the four metropolitan centres, namely Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. The fruiterers and their shop assistants probably make up the bulk of the Chinese population in these cities.

A typical modern Chinese fruit and vegetable shop has a wide, open frontage, with the produce attractively displayed along both sides and the back of the shop (see photograph of a modern Chinese fruit and vegetable supermarket.). Hours of trading are no longer as extensive as formerly, most of the city shops opening only between the hours of 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. Profits are relatively good, the wages of the shop-assistants are fairly high, and most of them are now able to live in good suburban homes rather than at the back of the shop.

The Chinese laundry, in contrast, is slowly disappearing from the New Zealand scene (see photograph of an old established Chinese laundry). There are now very few left. The menial task of washing and ironing clothes does not appeal to the younger generation of Chinese. Moreover, mechanized European dry-cleaning and laundry enterprises are successfully competing against the dated Chinese laundry.

Other lines of Chinese business in the towns include groceries, seeds and nursery shops, dairy shops, bookshops, electrical servicing, transport, supermarket owners, and many others. There are also many fish and chip shops and Chinese restaurants in the main cities. Chinese food has become

quite popular in New Zealand.

True to the tradition of overseas Chinese all over the world, wholesale and retail trade and other lines of business, are by far the most popular forms of occupation. The 1956 Census recorded 969 males and 288 females in the wholesale and retail trade, making it the largest occupational group for the Chinese in New Zealand.[1]

Although commercial enterprises, probably because of their higher monetary rewards, remain the most popular form of occupation, many young, New Zealand educated Chinese men and women have branched out into wider and more varied occupational fields. Architecture, medicine, dentistry, engineering, primary and post-primary teaching, and scientific and industrial research for the others, clerical, dress-making, mechanical work, shorthand/typing, nursing, and other types of public service work, are relatively new fields in which members of the Chinese community now work. Yet still others are engaged as factory hands in various types of New Zealand manufacturing, such as woollen mills, biscuit factories, metal industries, and many others. A few have even started manufacturing enterprises themselves.

This diversification of occupations speaks well for the Chinese minority, and is a sign that they are becoming assimilated into the life of the New Zealand community.

1. Census, 1956, Vol. VII, p. 40.

CHAPTER V:

C O N C L U S I O N:

THE ASSIMILATION OF THE CHINESE IN NEW ZEALAND

With regard to the processes and stages in the assimilation of the Chinese in New Zealand, the early gold-mining period must be regarded as the phase of occupational, social and residential segregation, and for the Chinese miners themselves it was only a period of sojourn. This period began with the first arrivals in 1866 and lasted until about the turn of the century, although changes had begun with the decline of gold-mining in the early Eighteen-eighties.

When the Chinese first began to arrive on the Otago gold-fields, the gold "rushes" were over, the easy pickings were gone, gold could only be won with patience and hard work, and thousands of Europeans were leaving the province. The Otago Provincial Council sought the introduction of Chinese miners from the gold-fields of Australia to replace the departing Europeans, and so to maintain the prosperity of the province.

The first Chinese arrivals were received with suspicion and indifference. They were content to follow the trail of the white miners, many of whom had gone in search of new discoveries. Working with infinite patience on the abandoned alluvial fields of Otago, Westland and Nelson, and living frugally many Chinese amassed large sums.

For the first few years the Chinese were not attacked, but

they were resented and certainly not regarded as equals by the Europeans. Many white miners, sometime later, not making any new discoveries, had returned to find their fields picked clean or occupied by Chinese, and as more and more Chinese were arriving with each passing year, the Europeans came to regard them as serious competitors.

European miners urged the Government to pass legislations to restrict the entry of Chinese miners. The Government, in its turn, at first, appointed a "Chinese Immigration Committee" to investigate into the Chinese question. The report of the Committee, however, was favourable toward the Chinese, and no action was taken to restrict their immigration. But anti-Chinese agitation continued, and under public pressure the Government, from 1881 onward, passed a series of Immigration Acts designed to restrict the entry of Chinese into New Zealand.

Unwanted and regarded as an inferior being, and separated from the Europeans by physical and racial differences of customs, habits and language, the Chinese worked among themselves and had their own mining camps. On the other hand, their intentions in coming to New Zealand were to accumulate as much wealth as possible, in order to ease the poverty at home, or return to China to live in comfort and with higher social standing.

A. Don wrote of the Chinese gold-miner immigrant: "High hopes quicken pulse and pick in those days; for the golden run led to the Golden Land of China. Gold and China - what words to charm! The one, and only one, bringing thousands of men thousands of miles: the other and no other, keeping the

heart beating so far away for so many years."[1]

Indeed, many of the Chinese gold-miners did accumulate sufficient wealth, through good fortune, hard work and painstaking perseverance, to return to retire or to invest in other enterprises in China or Hong Kong (see Fig. VI). Some, however, were disappointed in New Zealand and returned to the gold-fields of Australia. In the early years there was, in fact, quite a substantial Chinese traffic between New Zealand and Australia (see Fig. VI). There were others who after they had spent their savings in China returned to work in New Zealand.

Most of the Chinese immigrants, in the early days of immigration in New Zealand, were young men. For example, of the 4,814 Chinese in New Zealand in 1874, 3,235 were under 35 years of age. 1,132 were between the ages of 35 to 45 years, 372 were between 45 and 65 years, and only one was over 65 years of age.[2] Young men, of course, are stronger, healthier, more adventurous, and possess greater capacity and incentive for work, and are therefore more suitable as emigrants to distant lands. Besides, Chinese filial piety dictates that it is a young man's task to see that his parents and family are provided for.

Very few Chinese women were in New Zealand during the early

1. A. Don: op. cit., p.4.
2. Census, 1874, Part II, pp. 16-17.

period of immigration (see Fig. VIII). The Chinese gold-miners, like most of their European counterparts, did not bring their wives and families with them, since they came only as soldiers of fortune. New Zealand's anti-Chinese legislation, particularly the imposition of the poll-tax, and the hostility of the New Zealand colonists during the latter part of the Nineteenth century, were probably other reasons which discouraged the immigration of Chinese women to New Zealand.

In view of all these unfavourable and even adverse conditions under which the early Chinese gold-miner immigrants lived, it was not surprising that few of them had any desire to remain permanently and settle in New Zealand. They were only sojourners in a foreign land, and were not assimilated.

Although the gold-mining period persisted for a number of years after the turn of the century, the second phase of the assimilation of the Chinese in New Zealand, the phase of the spread of Chinese settlement, the phase of urbanization and the phase of changing occupations, had its beginning in the Eighteen-eighties when some of the miners began drifting to the towns and cities, especially to those of the North Island, to take up market-gardening, laundry-work, fruit and vegetable vending and retailing, and other occupations. This second phase gained momentum after 1900, when more and more miners, and even the new immigrants, took up the 'new' occupations in the towns, and persisted until the late Nineteen-thirties.

As the number of Chinese in the towns and cities began to increase, the protests of the town citizens were added to those of the miners. Fanned by fear and abuse, the public urged for more stringent legislations to restrict further entry of Chinese immigrants, so the passage of restrictive Chinese immigration bills continued until the introduction of the permit system of immigration in 1920. Anti-Chinese agitation was, in fact, aroused each time the country experienced an economic crisis, such as the collapse of gold-mining, the cessation of public works, adverse trade balances, and the beginning of the post-World War I slump.[1]

The Chinese, in this second phase of assimilation, were still sojourners. The spread of Chinese settlement throughout the country and urban occupations, however, had brought them into closer contact with the Europeans, even though they kept mostly to themselves in their work and social intercourse. At the same time, they were becoming more and more familiar with the New Zealand culture and way of life, and most of them had learnt at least enough English to carry on a business. China was still their homeland, where the great majority were born and where many had wives and families. Because of better economic opportunities here, the Chinese would send remittances home to their families and many pay periodic visits to China, but would return again and again to work in New Zealand.

Quite a number would, when possible, send for a male son

1. T. D. H. Hall: op. cit., p. 93.

or relative to come to the Dominion. A few even ventured to bring out wives and families. The graph showing the number of Chinese females in New Zealand (Fig. VIII), for example, shows its first important rise in 1920, when the Chinese realised that New Zealand, with further immigration legislation pending, might be closing her doors to further entry of Chinese. By this time, moreover, the Chinese had become relatively well established in their businesses and employment, and were being treated with a little more respect by the European community.

They were still, however, not assimilated. Their relationship with the dominant society, stated Ng B. Fong, was at a symbiotic or economic level rather than social.[1] But the processes of their assimilation into the New Zealand community were being established. They had come to realise that New Zealand is a secure and comparatively comfortable country to live in, and their occupations and industries were of some economic significance to the country.

The third phase of the assimilation of the Chinese in New Zealand began when the Labour Government in 1936 permitted the wives and families to come and join the married male immigrants already in the country. The movement gained impetus during and after World War II, and is still going on today.

With, a predominantly male population, many of whom had wives and families in China, assimilation was impossible. The immigrants unavoidably always looked toward their native

1. Ng B. Fong: op. cit., p. 21.

land where their next-of-kins resided, but when both home and family were in New Zealand the yearning for China faded with each passing year. The Government policy to allow wives and families to enter New Zealand was, therefore, a major step toward the assimilation of the Chinese.

Many Chinese took advantage of that Government grant. Just prior to World War II, moreover, almost five hundred "refugee" wives and children entered the country, and after World War II older Chinese members continued to bring out their families, while many of the younger male members, because of the shortage of Chinese females in the country, brought out brides from China and Hong Kong. The number of Chinese females in New Zealand has been further increased by those who have been born in this country.

The Chinese male and female ratio has, therefore, become much more balanced, being in the vicinity of about ten to seven in 1956 (see Fig. VIII). The proportion, however, still leaves much to be desired, and it may still take some years before the Chinese male and female ratio in New Zealand becomes evenly balanced.

Several legal barriers against assimilation have also been removed. The Chinese had been excluded from benefits under the Old Age Pension Act, but these discriminations were removed with the passing of the Social Security Act in 1938. This Act brought considerable improvements in conditions for the Chinese, and the Labour Government deserves due credit for

it, and for the repeal of the poll-tax on new Chinese immigrants in 1944, although the payment of it had been waived since 1936.[1]

The resumption of naturalization for the Chinese in 1952 was also significant. Quite a number of Chinese were naturalized during the gold-mining days, but it was stopped about 1906 -1908, due to the lack of wives and females among the Chinese in New Zealand; now that more Chinese females are in the country there were no reasons for the old policy to continue, so naturalization for the Chinese was resumed.[2] Naturalization would improve the status of a Chinese alien, for with it he becomes a New Zealand citizen and British subject, he also has the right to vote and to enjoy all the rights and privileges that accompany citizenship. At present Chinese of good character are naturalized on the same basis as all other alien nationals, and numerous Chinese, both young and old, have taken that step since 1952.

The Second World War was another important step in the assimilation process. China was a major ally against a common and very threatening enemy. The relationship between the Europeans and the Chinese, as a result, grew closer. Then shortly after World War II, in 1949, there was the victory of the Communists in China, bringing with it a new economic system and a new way of life, in which many New Zealand Chinese must

1. P. Mathews: The New Zealand Chinese Minority, p.2.
2. Statement by Naturalization Officer, Internal Affairs Department, Wellington, February, 1958.

have lost land and possessions invested there. After that tremendous national upheaval in China, the Chinese in New Zealand, almost without exception, decided that the destiny of themselves and their families lay in New Zealand, which must now become home rather than a place of sojourn.

Meanwhile, in New Zealand, money made during the prosperous post-war years was ploughed back into good suburban homes and businesses, new shops and gardens were opened in different parts of the country, while many of the younger members, who had received higher education in New Zealand, were entering into all types professional and occupational fields. This spread and dispersion of settlement and diversification of employment have brought the Chinese better social and economic standing and wider social intercourse with the Europeans.

Even many of the older members were unconsciously becoming accustomed to the New Zealand way of life; although they all still speak Chinese and eat Chinese food when among themselves, many have adopted much of the material and social culture of the country. One member of this older generation, Mr George Gee, for example, has in recent years completed a term as President of the New Zealand Fruit Retailers' Federation, while many others are members of Rotary Clubs, Masonic Lodges, and other community activities.

[1]Most of the younger generations, those born in the country or those who came out as young children and were educated in New Zealand, are bilingual and bicultural. They may adopt one set of behaviour at home and another outside. They become marginal people. The marginal man with his "dual personality" can play an important role for better understanding between the East and the West. Many New Zealand-born Chinese, especially those from parents who were also born in New Zealand, cannot even speak Chinese and are completely Westernised, except in physical appearance. And in time, under the present Government policy of admitting wives and families only, the number of New Zealand-born Chinese must eventually be greater than those by immigration.

Education and the day to day contact with the dominant society in schools, universities and fields of employment are probably the most powerful factors in the assimilation of the Chinese in New Zealand. As a result, the Chinese family unit tradition has broken down. Ancestor worship practically does not exist. Chinese children still respect and obey their parents, but filial piety is disappearing. There is also a freer relationship between parent and child. Young people, for example, may still seek parental approval before marriage, but the marriages are no longer arranged by parents as according to tradition. Racial intermarriages, even among the well-educated and professional Chinese, are also increasing, although

1. The following sections on the life and institutions of the Chinese in New Zealand are based primarily on: Ng B. Fong: op. cit., pp. 78-153

it is still strongly disapproved by the older members of the community. The number of Chinese mixed-bloods is, therefore, also increasing.

Although the first Chinese Consul was not appointed until 1909, the Chinese at present are diplomatically represented by a Consul-General and two Consuls from Taiwan. The Communist regime as yet has not received the New Zealand Government's recognition.

A Chinese Association, embracing all the Chinese population in New Zealand, exists with head-office in Wellington and branches in other cities. This institution was vigorous and patriotic during the war years, but its importance is now declining.

Familial institutions, such as the Tung-Chung Association, the Poon-Yu Association and Seyip Association, also exist, but the Chinese spirit of kinship has declined, the various clans being only loosely tied. The importance of the various familial institutions, therefore, have also decreased, though they still exist.

Christianity is also exerting its influence upon many members of the Chinese community. While many young people join Western churches as well, there are at the moment four branches of the Chinese church in New Zealand. There is a Chinese Presbyterian Pastor at Auckland, a Church of England and a Baptist Church, with a Pastor in charge of each in Wellington, and a Chinese Presbyterian Pastor at Dunedin. For many others, however, religion and spiritual worship

do not occupy a very significant part in their lives.

Chinese schools are also found at Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin, and Christchurch has one from time to time, but they do not command much importance nor influence as most of the young, Westernised Chinese are not very interested in the learning of the complicated Chinese written language.

The most important annual social gathering for the Chinese in New Zealand, especially for the younger members, is probably the "Double Ten" sports tournament, held alternately at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, on the tenth of October each year. In many towns and cities there are Chinese sports clubs, while many others join European clubs, and this Double Ten tournament provides many with the opportunity to meet together for a few days.

So the processes of acculturation, assimilation, and even racial amalgamation go on and progress with each passing year. Assimilation is not yet complete and may not be achieved for a number of years, but already the Chinese, after more than ninety years and several generations, have become a part of the New Zealand community and play a significant part in the economy of the country.

REFERENCES

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bernadelli, H.: 'New Zealand and Asiatic Migration,' in Population Studies, 6, No. 1, July, 1952.

Campbell, P. C.: 'Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries Within the British Empire,' London, 1923.

Scholefield, G. H. (Editor): 'Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,' Wellington, 1940.

Don, A.: 'Chinese Mission Work in Otago, 1891-1892,' Dunedin.

Don, A.: 'Nineteenth Inland Otago Tour, 1905-1906,' Dunedin.

Don, A.: 'Twenty-first Inland Otago Tour, 1907-1908,' Dunedin.

Fong, Ng B.: 'The Assimilation of the Chinese in New Zealand,' M.A. Thesis, Education, Otago University, 1952.

Fong, Ng B.: 'The Chinese in New Zealand,' Hong Kong, 1959.

Fyfe, F.: 'Chinese Immigration to New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century,' M.A. Thesis, History, Victoria University, 1948.

Glick, C.: 'The Relation Between Position and Status in the Assimilation of the Chinese in Hawaii, in American Journal of Sociology, March, 1942.

Hall, T. D. H.: 'New Zealand and Asiatic Immigration,' in New Zealand Affairs, Chapter 5, Vol. I, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929.

MacNair, H. F.: 'The Chinese in the British Empire and the New World,' Shanghai, 1924.

Mathews, P.: 'The New Zealand Chinese Minority,' Auckland, 1944.

Mawson, W.: 'The Chinese Immigrant in New Zealand,' paper read at Honolulu Conference of Institute of Pacific Relations, Chicago, 1926.

McLintock, A. H.: 'History of Otago,' Dunedin, 1949.

McNeur, M. J.: 'The Chinese in New Zealand,' M.A. Thesis, History, Otago University, 1930.

McNeur, G. H.: 'New Zealand and Her Other Immigrants,' Dunedin, 1903.

Ponton, F. A.: 'Immigration Restriction in New Zealand,' M.A. Thesis, History, Victoria University, 1946.

Presbyterian Church of New Zealand: 'Missions to the Chinese,' Dunedin, 1907.

Scurrah, V. H.: 'Asiatic Immigration in New Zealand,' M.A. Thesis, History, Auckland University, 1950.

Ta Chen: Emigrant Communities in South China,' New York, 1940.

GOVERNMENT PAPERS and FILES:

Appendices to Journals of House of Representative (A.J.H.R.).

Department of Horticulture: 'Commercial Gardens Registrations, 1956.'

Immigration Department: 'Chinese Immigration'

New Zealand Archives.

Parliamentary Debates.

Population Census.

New Zealand Statutes.

New Zealand Year Book.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE and INTERVIEWS:

Naturalization Department, Internal Affaires, Wellington.

Branch Secretaries of the New Zealand Fruit and Vegetable Retailers' Federation.

Secretary of the New Zealand Commercial Growers' Federation.

Secretary of the New Zealand-Chinese Growers' Association.